THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EXCLUDED:

HIROSHIMA, NAGASAKI,

AND MINAMATA

1945 TO 1975

by

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ABSTRACT

After Japan's defeat in the Pacific War in 1945, the country became not only ground zero for the first use of atomic weapons, but also experienced year zero of the postwar, democratic era—the top-down reorganization of the country politically and socially—ushered in by the American Occupation. While the method of government changed, the state rallied around two pillars: the familiar fixture of big business and economics, and the notion of "peace" supplied by the new constitution. At this formative time, two uniquely postwar groups of people came to be excluded: the *hibakusha*, the atomic bombing survivors who epitomize ground zero, and the people of Minamata affected by industrial mercury pollution who symbolize the price of unbridled economic expansion which Japan embarked upon in year zero.

As victims of technologically-based poisoning, both the *hibakusha* and the victims in Minamata became excluded in their own communities, due to the secrecy and reticence at a governmental level surrounding their poisoning, but also because of Shintō notions of purity, which further marked *hibakusha* and Minamata victims as "diseased." The stigmatization and rejection both of these groups suffered came at the same moment their nation pursued a democratic, representative path to recovery and prosperity for the citizens of Japan. These post-war "poisoned people" are symbols of the cost of technology to humanity and are important not only to Japan's history, but to that of the world.

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INTRODUCTION

Ground Zero, Year Zero, and a New Japan

On August 6 and 9, 1945, Japan became ground zero on the receiving end of the first uses of atomic weaponry. On August 15, 1945, Japan also entered year zero[1] of the postwar, democratic era when the American Occupation led the overhaul of the country from the top down into a new democracy designed to eliminate even the "will to war."[2] This "restart" of the country in year zero meant that, as illustrated in a political cartoon by Etsurō Katō,[3] even the once hard-line militarists were "donning the morning coat of democracy"[4] as the government was reluctantly re-routed from a totalitarian, militaristic state into a disarmed and democratic one. At this same time, Japanese society at large began redefining what exactly being "Japanese" meant along the new democratic line, even as they "endured the unendurable," as Emperor Hirohito had urged in his surrender speech.[5]

In order for the Japanese to endure, they had to change and adapt to a new reality,

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[1] Gluck applied the term to Japan from the post-World War II German context in which it was first coined in 1945. Gluck, Carol. "The Past in the Present." Postwar Japan as History. Ed. Gordon, Andrew. University of California Press, 1993. 64-66.

[2] Dower, John. Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999. 77.

[3] Names appearing in this thesis are presented in the western style with the given name occurring first and the surname last.

[4] Dower, John. Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999. 67.

[5] Bix, Herbert P. Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan. New York: Harper Collins, 2000. 529. "Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War," called the Gyokuonhōsō, or Emperor's Voice Broadcast.

their new democracy, and a new national self-image. To accomplish this, the nation rallied once more around the figure of the Emperor, whose office had remained intact but was secularized following the surrender and American Occupation, though veneration of the Emperor had been a prominent feature of the state in both the wartime and prewar periods. In another carry-over from the prewar period, Japanese bureaucracy renewed its focus on the economy as a cultural pillar, identifying it as the vehicle by which prosperity could be achieved for the newly democratic nation in the wake of the devastation of the Pacific War. This particular selection of a national tenet was given an aura of newness and acceptability by linking it to the model of capitalist America, even though "big business," in the form of governmentally sanctioned monopolies, or *zaibatsu*, had been the modus operandi of imperialistic, expansionist Japan. With the advent of the new democratic constitution of Japan and its famous Article Nine, known as the "Peace Clause" which denied war as a right of the state,[6] peace was also "selected" as a pillar of the new Japan and its new self image.

Even as the coalescing new Japanese self-image incorporated democracy, peace, and economy to create its new "body politic," two groups of victims, linked by the commonality of having been poisoned by modern technology and subsequently stigmatized for that poisoning, were uniquely excluded. Both the *hibakusha*, or survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and those affected by industrial mercury pollution in the fishing town of Minamata became literally "poisoned peoples," victims because of circumstances outside their control—circumstances created by radiation weapons and mercury catalysts—and then by their subsequent social and political exclusion due first to fear of contagion from their unknown diseases and then from their symbolic and, in many cases, active opposition to the technologies that victimized them. The stigmatization both groups faced occurred not only at a national

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[6] Constitution of Japan. 1947. 12 May 2010 <http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Japan/English/english-Constitution.html>.

level, but also within their own immediate communities as each group came to be viewed both as physically impure, contaminated, and diseased, and as opposed to two of the fixtures of the new Japan: peace and economics—ground zero and year zero.

Eiji Oguma first used the term "self-image" during his examination of the redefinition of Japan in his book, A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images. Oguma showed that the process of recreating the self-image was not a new one for Japan in 1945. The country had undergone a previous major transformation of its self-image in 1868 with the revolutionary Meiji Restoration that changed Japan from a feudal and agrarian set of Daimyō controlled domains to a modern and industrial nation with a central government. The Meiji shift had also opened Japan's door to the world, even sanctioning approaching Japanese Imperialism. The formation of the Meiji era Japanese self-image was also a consciously selective process, guided by the Meiji oligarchs who chose state tenets such as the centrality of the Emperor, the need for modernization throughout all aspects of Japan from industry to culture, technology, militarism, and even colonialism.[7]

While the postwar realignment of the self-image also featured the centrality of the Emperor, modernization, the adoption of new technologies, and an emphasis on supporting big business and economic expansion, there are some distinct differences from the Meiji shift. One of the most important examples, noted extensively by Oguma, was the creation of the notion of a "homogeneous" society.[8] An effect of the revocation of Japan's empire abroad due to unconditional surrender to the Allies in 1945, the loss of Japan's colonial acquisitions severed all need for the new definition of Japan to be an "inclusive" one. Just as the Meiji had opened Japan to the world, the end of the War in the Pacific closed the country once again. The colonial imperative in terms of need for

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[7] Beasley, William G. The Meiji Restoration. Stanford University Press, 1972. 7-11, 308-311, 401-422.

[8] Oguma, Eiji. A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images. 1995. Trans. Askew, David. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002. xxvi-xxxvi, 24-30, 41-58, 95-109, 115-124, 156-171, 189-202, 204-208, 220-284, 308-312, 316-349.

control and the promotion of a sense of unity between conquered peoples in the *gaichi*, or the outer lands, and *naichi*, the Japanese home islands, resulted in an inclusively defined "Japaneseness" during the period of Japanese imperialism. This inclusiveness was evidenced by the use of the "hundred million" figure in slogans, such as "a hundred million hearts beat as one,"[9] to refer to the number of subjects in the empire, a number only reached by including not only the seventy million ethnic Japanese, but also thirty million non-Japanese colonial subjects in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria,[10] as well as Japan's domestic minorities, the Ainu, Burakumin, and Okinawans.

As a result, while the most important self-image of Japan during the imperial era was of a "mixed racial society" that by its very nature contained a "multitude of ethnicities,"[11] the fundamental "Japaneseness" in the postwar was defined exclusively, creating distinct categories of others and outsiders. This pertained most directly to non-Japanese ethnic groups, such as the formerly colonized Koreans, Manchurians, and Taiwanese still resident in the *naichi*, but also to previously "subsumed" minorities[12] who were set ironically adrift from the main body in the postwar Japanese democracy. Even more ironic was that the two most stigmatized groups in postwar Japan—the poisoned *hibakusha* and the Minamata victims— were not "others," separated by ethnicity or historical distinctions, but rather by virtue of their contamination and the ailments of their diseases.

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[9] Dower, John W. Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999. 22, 59. Young, Louise. Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism. University of California Press, 1998. 199, 203.

[10] Oguma, Eiji. A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images. 1995. Trans. Askew, David. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002. 23-26.

[11] Oguma, Eiji. A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images. 1995. Trans. Askew, David. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002. 24, 41-46, 53-58, 116-124

[12] These subsumed groups were formerly incorporated during the Imperial years to the Japanese main-body via reforms and annexations such as the abolition of the class system in 1871 that erased the privileged samurai, and, as a corollary, was to help Burakumin re-enter normal society, as well as the formal annexation of the Ryūyū (Okinawa) islands in 1872, but also included the Ainu, and Koreans and Chinese living in Japan.

Literary scholar Anne Sherif added another layer to Oguma's ideas about the formation of the new self-image of Japan in her book Japan's Cold War. Sherif argued that the Cold War "bipolar world view" coupled with American influence[13]—especially due to the seven years of American Occupation and the following diplomatic ties between America and Japan during the Cold War period—created even more criteria in the new Japanese self-image as a "democratically aligned"[14] nation within the developing Cold War schema. Chief among these new concerns were political distinctions such as: "non-Marxist," "non-Communist," "Pro-American," "Capitalist," "Anti-Russian," and the converses to those positions and ideologies, as well as a complex set of implications that adopting one over the other would have on the global arena of the Cold War. Japanese participation in this system therefore also required that Japan accept the Cold War "peace," which condoned international nuclear arsenals as the means of mutual deterrence for the use of those weapons.

Sherif also pointed out that if democratic "morning coats" were donned in Japan, even though they initially had "Made in America" on the labels, they eventually came to mean something to the Japanese people themselves. The reaction to Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi's unilateral, rather undemocratic ratification of the *Anzenhoshō*, or Anpo treaty,[15] in 1960 and the bevy of social movements that sprang up to protest the act, demonstrated a measure of Japanese willingness to participate in the political process and stand up for the hallmarks of their new democracy. Though widespread in Tokyo, these democratic social movements were quickly characterized by the government as being Communist-aligned agitation fomented by the excluded and unfavorable political elements.

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[13] Sherif, Ann. Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law. New York: Colombia University Press, 2009. 5-6, 202-209.

[14] Sherif, Ann. Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. 203-209.

[15] United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty.

But the idea of "Made in America" also came to provide a driving inspiration to make a full "recovery" from the Pacific War, to become an economic powerhouse that could rival their former "benefactor," the United States. Sherif discussed the ensuing links between, and indulgences for, big businesses that facilitated this "recovery" effort, and how the attitudes of materialism and the formation of the workplace society appeared in media of the day. It was because the government took business under its wings as the lifting force that would help elevate the standard of living and propel Japan to progress and success that any questions levied against the methods or consequences by which this was achieved were unfavorably received by political leaders. Ironically, to compete in this manner, Japan's period of "high-growth" adopted the production models used in the prewar and wartime years.[16]

Japan's constitutional Article Nine provided the first major pillar of the postwar self-image of Japan. Jane Yamazaki said that by breaking from its militarist past, the "[Japanese] body politic purges its guilt and can start afresh with a new sense of identity and self-worth," and that this attitude is what led to the country defining itself as a "peace nation" as a means of apology for wartime aggression.[17] Because the Cold War was comprised of ideological and psychological confrontations rather than typical battles involving tanks and troops, "peace" was created by detente instead of the true absence of active war. The *hibakusha* opposition to nuclear technology, and especially nuclear weapons, became antithetical to the method by which this "peace" was maintained, via unspoken policies such as "M. A. D."—Mutually Assured Destruction—predicated on escalating international nuclear arsenals all aimed at one another. As such, while *hibakusha* called for "No More Hiroshimas. No More Nagasakis," the world seemed poised to repeat the fate of the two cities on a global scale, increasingly becoming

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[16] Horioka, Charles Yuji. "Consuming and Saving." Postwar Japan as History. Ed. Gordon, Andrew. University of California Press, 1993. 262-292.

[17] Yamazaki, Jane W. Japanese Apologies for World War II: A Rhetorical Study. New York: Routledge, 2006. 77.

defined by which nations were sheltering under the "nuclear umbrellas" of the Cold War Superpowers.

Historian Carol Gluck observed that "progressive intellectuals" hailed the changes of year zero as the beginning of Japan's true "modernity,"[18] though the possibilities for real progress seemed increasingly remote as the temporal distance from the beginning of year zero increased and Japan's government and industry increasingly returned to prewar and wartime policies and production models. The poisoned people of Minamata resulted from this unchecked economic development after year zero—a model given credence by American capitalist democracy—and became a group that was viewed as antithetical, or somehow opposed to the economic path that was bringing the new Japan back to a position of world prominence economically, even if it was tacitly sacrificing the few for the good of the many.

It is the American influence in the immediate aftermath of the war that also helped relegate the experience of the atomic bombing to a near taboo subject, due primarily to American censorship and banning of bomb-related information during the first years of the Occupation.[19] The ban only intensified uncertainty regarding the sicknesses of the *hibakusha,* and further facilitated their cultural stigmatization as an "impure" or "contaminated" people, especially in regards to the Shintō emphasis on purity of the body. Their atomic bomb related illnesses were termed *genbakubyō*, atomic bomb disease, and due to the sheer lack of facts and information, it was sometimes even thought to be contagious from person to person. Cordoned off due to their radiation sicknesses and left in a void for years due to the Occupation's censorship, when their first official designation as a group of people came and was defined along medical lines according to the amount and type of symptoms from radiation poisoning, the position of

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[18] Gluck, Carol. "The Past in the Present." Postwar Japan as History. Ed. Gordon, Andrew. University of California Press, 1993. 68.

[19] Sherif, Ann. Japan's Cold War: Media, Literature, and the Law. New York: Colombia University Press, 2009. 154-156.

the *hibakusha* as a "sickened" group of people was solidified. Coupling this to the fact they had witnessed an event and its accompanying horrors that others could not easily understand or relate to, the *hibakusha* became a clearly delineated group excluded from the mainstream of Japanese society.

When the people of Minamata began to notice that they, their families, and community members were mysteriously falling sick and becoming crippled, they started an uphill battle, especially as the picture began to reveal the Chisso Corporation was responsible for widespread mercury poisoning that destroyed the victims' nervous systems. Chisso had been a *zaibatsu*, a government sanctioned monopoly, in the chemical production business in the prewar years, and even after it was broken up by the American Occupation into three smaller companies, Chisso remained a substantial enough contributor to Japanese "progress" in the postwar period that the government stepped in to mitigate the cases that came to be leveled at Chisso for industrial poisoning and negligence, cases resolved in the company's favor. Even the Minamata community itself was split between those who thought protesting and filing suits against Chisso was the appropriate course of action, and those who thought that to accuse and blame Chisso would ruin the local economy and destroy the community's "prosperity."[20] Because of these situations, those who were affected by the poisoning and those who came to champion their cause against Chisso and the government were also an excluded group from the mainstream of Japanese society, which seemed to perceive corporations like Chisso as unimpeachable and as important forces working towards the good of the country as a whole.

Coalescing Oguma and Sherif's points into a single account regarding the formation of the postwar self-image of Japan, the definition that moves to the forefront is perhaps the most common attribute assigned to Japanese society even today—

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[20] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 3, 73.

"homogeneous." Japan is often viewed as perceiving itself to be the possessor of a "strong sense of group and national identity and little or no ethnic or racial diversity,"[21] or as "an extremely homogeneous society with non-Japanese, mostly Koreans and Chinese, making up only about 1% of the population."[22] In 1986, the Prime Minster of Japan at the time, Yasuhiro Nakasone, even stated that Japan was a "monoracial society."[23] Demographically it seems true that Japan is a nation comprised almost entirely of one ethnic group—approximately ninety-six to ninety-nine percent[24] of the people are ethnically Japanese. Homogeneity becomes a feature of the new Japanese self-image after year zero, and while not the source of the exclusion of groups, it points to a larger sense of group identification in Japan that in turn gives a tacit sanction to the radical exclusion of those perceived as not fitting into the homogenous category that represents the "new" Japan.

The tie between perceived homogeneity and peace and economy surfaces clearly in statements like Nakasone's, asserting Japan's successes in the last century, including its financial successes across the 1950's to the 1980's, the low levels of crime in even the densest urban areas, and the "miraculously" fast modernization and industrialization of the formerly "feudal" Japanese state in the Meiji period, can be credited to Japan's

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[21] Bestor, Theodore, and Hardacre, Helen. "Contemporary Japan: Culture and Society." University of Colombia 2004. 12 May 2010 <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/t_japan_soc/>.

[22] "Japanese Society." Colombia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th ed. 2007. 12 May 2010 <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/world/A0858982.html>.

[23] Yasuhiro Nakasone made that statement in September 1986 at a meeting of the LDP. Bowen, Ezra. "Nakasone's World Class Blunder." Time Magazine Online 4 June 2001. 12 May 2010 <http://www.time.com/time/ magazine/article/0,9171,1101861006-143333,00.html>.

[24] Bowen, Ezra. "Nakasone's World Class Blunder." Time Magazine Online 4 June 2001. 12 May 2010 <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1101861006-143333,00.html>. De Vos, George A., and Wetherall, William O. "Japan's Minorities," Report no. 3. London: Minority Rights Group, 1983. "Demographics of Japan – Minorities." Global Oneness 1991. 12 May 2010 <http://www.experiencefestival.com/a/ Demographics_of_Japan_-_Minorities/id/1317270>.

perceived homogeneity and co-contingent promotion of *shūdan ishiki*, or trans personal identification and social harmony.[25] In other words, that Japanese "homogeneity" was responsible for the success of the role of Japan as a "peace nation," as well as Japanese economic success. This is a picture of Japan that omits a large, important part of the experience of the country in the later half of the twentieth century, including the experiences of the *hibakusha* and the victims of Minamata, and even reinforces the two groups social stigmatization and subsequent exclusion.

The inclusion of the radiation poisoned *hibakusha* and the mercury-poisoned people of Minamata, however, was not a priority for the "new" coalition of government and big business who were driving the vehicle of peace and prosperity in postwar Japan. Moving towards economic recovery and the rebuilding of the nation seemed to require that the needs of these two injured groups be ignored, or even buried. This attitude manifests most strongly (or perhaps most easily) in the form of resistance to act in the face of things that contradicted the adopted national self-image where achieving national goals was justified for the many at the expense of the few. The *hibakusha* and the Minamata victims were negative reminders of what Gluck referred to as having "gone wrong" in the prewar,[26] and which were now at odds with the "democratic" Japan and its emphasis on peace and economy. Thus, the new Japan was looking towards the future, not back to the past, no matter how many "ghosts at the historical feast"[27] remained ubiquitously present.

The experiences of these excluded, poisoned people add dimensions to almost all aspects of modern Japan—socially, historically, and politically. They also directly pertain to the strength and level of actualization of Japanese democracy, demonstrating not

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[25] Davies, Roger J., and Ikeno, Osamu, eds. The Japanese Mind: Understanding Contemporary Japanese Culture. North Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 2002. 195-197.

[26] Gluck, Carol. "The Past in the Present." Postwar Japan as History. Ed. Gordon, Andrew. University of California Press, 1993. 64.

[27] Gluck, Carol. "The Past in the Present." Postwar Japan as History. Ed. Gordon, Andrew. University of California Press, 1993. 66.

only how minorities or "others" are treated, but also the ability of all voices to be heard. The *hibakusha* atomic bomb survivors and the Minamata victims of industrial mercury pollution further embody two critical Japanese experiences that have been ongoing since 1945: dealing with the legacies of the Pacific War and the following nuclear arms race in the Cold War alongside rapid modernization and industrial progress. *Hibakusha* and Minamata victims also share a history of having been ignored and unacknowledged by the democratic government, and stigmatized in their own communities.

The *hibakusha* survivors and victims of Minamata are important, not only to Japan's self-image, but to that of the world. The *hibakusha* specifically are the only people on earth who can speak first hand about the globally important issue of nuclear warfare. They are what makes Japan *yuiitsu no hibakukoku,* or the only country in the world to have been effected by atomic weapons. The people of any nation who have experienced industrial poisoning or pollution can relate to the Minamata victims and their struggle. In order to fully realize their own democracy and maintain a realistic view of their own self-image, Japan must integrate, compute, and come fully to terms with the experiences of the *hibakusha* and Minamata victims. Accepting these poisoned people into the body politic would give Japan a powerful and authentic voice in the world arena on issues that include peace, pollution, and how to care for all citizens by reconciling with painful legacies of the past, a voice which could not be discounted.

The Aftermath of Victimization

Both the *hibakusha* and the poisoned people of Minamata are victims of incidents that were beyond their control. The term "victim" carries moral connotations of harm and wrongdoing, implying the existence of a group that has done the victimizing, as well as a group that has been wronged, and even often an exoneration of blame for those who have been victimized. In the context of Japan's modern history, victimization is intimately

connected to responsibility for the Pacific War and to the perception of coercion of the state upon its people to comply with and carry out that conflict, and by extension any "atrocities" committed during the war. Japanese victimization also includes the atomic bombings, the position of Japan as a subordinate, occupied nation under America, and even to survivor's guilt on the part of those who did not die for the State in combat, as well as the *hibakusha* who survived the bombings of their cities. The characterization of the Japanese nation as either an Imperial victimizer or as a victim at the hands of its own government during the war years is still a highly charged issue.

Historian James Orr made an extensive study of the term "victim" and Japanese attitudes regarding it in his book, The Victim As Hero. He pointed to a shift in postwar period Japan from "victimizers" to a general shared sense of "victimhood," the result of the American Occupation, the on-rushing Cold War culture, and the issue of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki being a punishment out of proportion even for Japan's actions as a nation during the Pacific War. Specifically, Orr presents the ultimate symbol of postwar Japanese victimhood as the Emperor, a "kind family man," deceived and led by his own cabinet and the military.[28] Exonerated by the American Occupation government, the Emperor's status thus fell outside moral boundaries and he was freed from accusations of responsibility for the war and loss of life to the point it became taboo in Japan to discuss any potential responsibility for the war on the Emperor's part, or make any other criticisms of the Imperial Household. In 1960, when author, Shichirō Fukazawa, wrote a short story titled, "Fūryū Mutan," or "Dream of Courtly Elegance,"[29] in which the Crown Prince Akihito and his wife Michiko are executed, there was outrage from conservatives, an attempted lawsuit from the Imperial Household Agency, and even an incident of real homicide, when a young, right-wing activist broke into the home of the president of the company that published "Fūryū Mutan," and, failing to find Hoji

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[28] Orr, James J. The Victim As Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001. 3-7, 32-35.

[29] Fukazawa, Shichirō. "Fūryū Mutan." Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1960.

Shimanaka, stabbed Shimanaka's housekeeper to death and wounded his wife.[30] What followed was self-censorship on the part of many major magazines, and other media organizations, including the one that had originally published "Fūryū Mutan," *Chūō Kōron*, which also issued an apology for having printed the story.[31]

Another key figure in elevating the sense of collective Japanese victimization to acceptance was Kaoru Yasui. Yasui was a principle figure in the early anti-atomic bomb movements of the 1950's and 1960's. He served as a leader in several atomic bomb movements, including as secretary for the Gensuibaku Kinshi Nihon Kyōgika, also known as Gensuikyō, or the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Orr argued that it was Yasui's triumph to "bridge the gap" between the JCP, the Japan Communist Party, and JSP, the Japan Socialist Party, thereby creating a single "nonpartisan," anti-nuclear movement that would become the Gensuikyō.[32] Instead of championing the excluded *hibakusha*, Yasui's appeals made the argument that all Japanese were victims, thereby marginalizing the experience of the *hibakusha* themselves. The priority, as he saw it, for Gensuikyō was to address the atomic bombings and the pervasiveness of nuclear weapons as the enemy to world peace.

The terms "victim" and "victimhood" are connected indelibly to moral questions, often divorced from human elements, with a focus on the agent of the victimization rather those affected by it. Not only this, but to claim a universal victimization for Japan is to deny a very real, pressing disjunction between the actual groups of harmed people, such as *hibakusha* and Minamata victims, both of whom were bodily poisoned by technology which was compounded by cultural and religious notions in Japan related to bodily

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[30] Bix, Herbert P. "Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan." Japan Policy Research Institute at the University of San Francisco Center for the Pacific Rim Occasional Paper no. 17, September 2000. 12 May 2010 <http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op17.html>.

[31] Treat, John W. "Beheaded Emperors and the Absent Figure in Contemporary Japanese Literature." PMLA 109.1 (1994): 100-115.

[32] Orr, James J. The Victim As Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001. 8.

purity found within both Shintō, the historic indigenous, as well as wartime and prewar state religion of Japan, and Japanese Buddhism. Two prominent notions of maintaining "purity" by practice in Shintō, laid down in a compendium by a monk in 1320, include not only "honesty" and "a calm mind," but also "not to mourn for the dead ... not to have contact with disease."[33] Because of the close relationship, and indeed a kind of symbiosis, between Shintō and Buddhism in Japan, the importance of "purity" in a Buddhist sense also comes to be interpreted in a bodily manner, as well as a spiritual one.

To facilitate a discussion of the *hibakusha* and those poisoned in Minamata, both of which implicitly include a moral subtext, differentiating between the terms "excluded" and "victim" is a necessity. Using the term "excluded" rather than "victim" focuses on individuals who are kept apart and separate by the vehicle of cultural stigmatization and ostracism, after the moment of their initial traumas. Exclusion highlights the irony of the situation of both the *hibakusha* and the mercury poisoned people of Minamata that their initial victimization—the flash and heat of the atomic bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the accumulation of industrial mercury poisoning in their bodies that led to neuro-degeneration—should have stirred the compassion of their fellow citizens. Instead, the reaction to their victimization and the obfuscation of the factors and even facts of their "poisoning" led to their exclusion from those left "healthy." Their exclusion entails a stigmatization on a very physical, bodily level, as truly "poisoned people." While each group tried to express its experience of being both victim and excluded to the larger population of Japan through their writing, art, dialogue, and demonstration, they were also concerned with what that exclusion and continuing stigmatization meant for the state of Japanese democracy and the conduct of the government in regards to respecting democratic ideals and the rights of every citizen.

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[33] Picken, Stuart D. B. Sourcebook in Shinto: Selected Documents. Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2004. 177.

HIBAKUSHA

Exclusion After Ground Zero

Hibakusha, victims of direct attack by atomic weapons, did not exist before August 6 and 9, 1945. Though they survived the first use of such weapons in history, they were immediately relegated to the fringe of Japanese society. The American Occupation, due to official censorship of the atomic bombings and all related information, solidified their exclusion even further. The reasons that SCAP, the Supreme Commander Allied Powers, gave for such censorship in an emerging new democracy included the guarding of "secret" information against Cold War "rivals,"[34] and the preservation of America's image as a bastion for human rights, democracy, and fair treatment in the face of the harsh realities of the bombings. The latter reason was especially important in regards to America's position as the administrator of Japan during the Occupation.

United States President Harry S. Truman had authorized the extension of a scientific group studying the effects of bombing in Germany, the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey, to include a new Japanese branch in order to study the atomic bombings. This organization became the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, or ABCC. The ABCC studied many *hibakusha*, cataloging and examining their injuries and illnesses, during the seven years of the American Occupation. The intentional suppression of information regarding the bombings and all the related scientific observations and the studies conducted by ABCC scientists on both the ruined cities and their remaining inhabitants

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[34] Braw, Monica. The Atomic Bomb Suppressed: American Censorship in Occupied Japan. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991. 107-109, 111, 113, 154-156.

remained secret. The ABCC personnel offered no treatment to those they examined.[35] The lack of information regarding the *hibakusha* health conditions deepened the general uncertainty among the Japanese public about this group of survivors. The *hibakusha* faced illnesses no one had experienced before, and the void of information lead to hearsay and speculation. There were rumors that atomic ailments could be contracted by contact with the *hibakusha* themselves, or by visiting the bombing sites. Such assertions were backed up by incidents of seemingly healthy *hibakusha* who suddenly took turns for the worse, and by tales of even non-*hibakusha* people who visited the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and subsequently died.[36]

The initial, "official" definition of an individual as a *hibakusha* was based on his or her proximity to the epicenter of the explosion. Once an individual was designated as a *hibakusha* his or her name was added to the list of official atomic bomb victims and he or she was given stipends and medical fee coverage. Despite this procedure of registration, no official law provided for *hibakusha* relief until 1957, twelve years after the atomic bombings, and five years after the end of the American Occupation. The catalyst for a *hibakusha* relief law was the irradiation of tuna fishermen aboard the vessel, Lucky Dragon no. 5, who were caught in the fallout from a hydrogen bomb test on Bikini Island in 1954. Despite the fact that the vessel was outside the danger zone declared by the United States government, all crewmen reported radiation-related illnesses from their time in the fallout and were hospitalized, and the boat's radio operator died.[37] With the tragedy of the Lucky Dragon no. 5, proximity to the epicenter itself was no longer sufficient to cover all *hibakusha*, and the definition of that category was expanded to

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[35] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 225.

[36] Ōe, Kenzaburo. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 26, 59. Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 14, 179, 262.

[37] Lapp, Ralph E. The Voyage of the Lucky Dragon. 1958. TED Super Page. 1999. 12 May 2010 <http://www1.american.edu/TED/lucky.htm>. Last accessed 5/12/2010.

cover those who were caught in fallout and those who were affected by "black rain" well outside established epicenter zones. The law, titled the Atomic Bomb Victims Medical Care Law, redefined the classification of *hibakusha* to include medical criteria, such as the type and number of symptoms an individual *hibakusha* possessed, as well as radiation levels that the individual had experienced, instead of relying on location relative to an atomic blast. These new criteria became standards for defining new *hibakusha*.

However, it was not just their ailments, SCAP policy, and general societal misinformation and disinterest that kept the *hibakusha* on the periphery of Japanese society. The very experiences of the *hibakusha* also separated them from the mainstream of Japan. Their situation was highly analogous to survivors of the Holocaust in Europe. Their trauma, the images and memories of having been suddenly thrust into a "living hell,"[38] all left distinct impressions on even the youngest *hibakusha*. After surviving the blast many *hibakusha* were wracked with guilt because they remained alive when their family members and coworkers perished. Called "survivor's guilt," this condition included feelings of isolations and despair.

Some *hibakusha* felt compelled to write or draw images related to their unique experience, and as a result there has been a steady outpouring of literature and art from the *hibakusha* community even during the Occupation and the accompanying intense censorship. Not only was this creativity an attempt to work through their trauma, it was also meant to increase the understanding and awareness of the atomic bombings, and to convey to non-*hibakusha* audiences the experience of being a survivor and excluded. The *hibakusha* discovered, as many other excluded groups have, that communicating the uniqueness of their experience further underlined their separateness from the general population.

Others used that separation and the experience of the *hibakusha* atomic bomb

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[38] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 12, 98, 160, 202. Selden, Kyoko I., and Mark. The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc.,1989. 9, 109, 138.

survival for political purposes. A collective sense of "atomic victimhood" became a tool in the political arena from almost the outset of the surrender, creating a rallying point for a core of non-partisan, national sentiment. Emperor Hirohito himself mentioned the atomic bombing in his surrender speech as a major reason for the decision to end the war and agree to the unconditional surrender demanded by the Allies:

> Moreover, the enemy has begun to employ a new and most cruel bomb, the power of which to do damage is, indeed, incalculable, taking the toll of many innocent lives. Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization. Such being the case, how are we to save the millions of our subjects, or to atone ourselves before the hallowed spirits of our Imperial Ancestors? This is the reason why we have ordered the acceptance of the provisions of the joint declaration of the powers.[39]

Hirohito's words, though they seemed to reference his own position and "atonement," nonetheless made the atomic bombing into a universal threat against humanity, and gave the topic he addressed later in the speech, the "grand peace," the underpinnings of a moral endeavor by Japan on behalf of the world. In the speech, the groundwork for what later developed into a perceived national asset—the Japanese status as *yuiitsu no hibakukoku*, or the only country to have been affected by the deliberate use of atomic weaponry—was laid, and the basis for interpreting the Japanese "grand peace" as fundamentally opposed to atomic weaponry and its horrors appeared for the first time. However, even in Hirohito's speech, the actual *hibakusha* themselves are not mentioned, and neither are Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two cities devastated by the bombings. While it may be argued that this omission was an attempt at solidarity with the victims—embracing their pain as a national pain—it can be argued that it minimized the horror of the personal situations of *hibakusha*. While the majority of Japanese may have felt injured by the atomic bombings, their generalized feelings of victimhood could never

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[39] Bix, Herbert P. Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan. New York: Harper Collins, 2000. 529. Translation of the "Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War," called the Gyokuonhōsō, or Emperor's Voice Broadcast.

approach the intensity of the agony that the *hibakusha* knew.

Despite the "usefulness" of the *hibakusha* and the atomic experience politically, to keep the *hibakusha* and the atomic bombings prominent in the national eye was, to Japanese political conservatives, an unwelcome reminder of defeat and surrender in the Pacific War. For many politicians, it became a better philosophical option to reassign the atomic bombings to a "debt paid" for the Pacific War. This selective interpretation was unintentionally aided by SCAP's atomic censorship policy. However, Japan has been forced at times to reconsider its attitude toward the atomic bombings and the excluded *hibakusha*, first with the Lucky Dragon no. 5 incident which occurred in 1954, and then when American nuclear submarines and other nuclear equipped vessels attracted the attention of the media. In fact, there was a swell of popular sentiment for the plight of *hibakusha* that culminated in a new law for *hibakusha* relief in 1966.

Hibakusha are by no means a group without internal distinctions. There are *hibakusha* who are militant about their status and express it via protests and activism, seeking enhanced government recognition and reparations. There are also those who talk about their experiences in the atomic "hell," and are openly known as a *hibakusha*, hoping to educate others and thereby achieve the mantra: "No More Hiroshimas. No More Nagasakis." John Treat observed in his book on atomic bomb literature, Writing Ground Zero, that these outspoken *hibakusha* have an "irrepressible sense of themselves as 'different.'"[40] The source for this sense of difference can only be the atomic bombing and their experience of surviving it. There are Korean *hibakusha* that perhaps suffer even more heavily than other *hibakusha,* due to the added racial status and the complication of the 1965 normalization of relations between Japan and Korea that barred any Korean *hibakusha* outside of Japan from applying for any aid. There is even a portion of the *hibakusha* population that seeks to be free of their designation as such. They try to

[40] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 265.

be forgotten, instead of recognized, hiding their status, refusing to register as official *hibakusha* even to claim the monetary benefits. These *hibakusha* sometimes relocate and change their names to avoid what they perceive as the stigma of exclusion.

Some things were and are constants for all *hibakusha*, as evidenced in many *hibakusha* narratives. They were often unable to marry freely, unable to get certain jobs, and were sometimes shunned or locked away by their own families.[41] These common realities of the *hibakusha* lives gradually entered the public's consciousness and resulted in the 1966 Atomic Bomb Victims Special Measures Law, which both increased allowances for medical care and awarded reparations beyond those costs. These new stipends included expenses for funerals and loss of livelihood compensations.

The attitudes of *hibakusha* themselves have also changed over the years. In the immediate wake of the atomic bombings, some *hibakusha* seemed interested in creating a record of their horrific experience as if to prove, in defiance of heavy censorship, that they existed and the bombings did occur. There is a definite element of "repetition" evidenced in the recordings of the *hibakusha*, a coping feature they share with other victims of mass traumas, including survivors of the Holocaust. Victims feel compelled to record and "repeat" their trauma in attempts to locate or document its foundation, recording their stories with as much factual detail as possible and thereby reliving the trauma of the experience in an attempt to engage and understand it.[42] After the initial shock passed and the temporal distance from the moment of ground zero increased, many *hibakusha* accounts of the atomic bombing became more narrative in nature, exploring trauma, loss, horror, and human tragedy beyond simply stating details and facts, a universal stage in dealing with traumatic experiences, "working over and through" them

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[41] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. Nakazawa, Keiji. Hadashi no Gen. 1972-3. vol. 1-10. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004-2009.

[42] Grimwood, Marita. Holocaust Literature of the Second Generation. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 9-11, 22. LaCapra, Dominick. Writing History, Writing Trauma. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001. 80-85.

to better understand their nature as well as the event of their "founding trauma."[43] Later *hibakusha* literature and accounts moved beyond the pure facts, injecting poeticism into the stories themselves. There also emerged a new element alongside the event of the atomic bombing and the "hell" of their immediate wake: the experience of living as people distinctly aware that they are excluded from the greater whole of Japan. The "hell" became an experience more often visited in recollections and flashbacks. The present became the main story, detailing the lives of *hibakusha*, their deepening plight as a group excluded, alone with their sicknesses that not even they understood.

This progression of *hibakusha* attitudes is contradicted by the selective inclusion of the atomic bombings into the self-image of Japan solely to give credence to Japan's position as the nation of peace in the deepening Cold War. Instead of being included along with the atomic bombings as a point of importance in modern Japan, the *hibakusha* remain almost exactly where SCAP relegated them, "censored," even while they struggled to find their voices and follow the quintessential Japanese mantra of "enduring the unendurable," more poignant for them than for any other people.

Just the Facts

The best representative of the earliest stage in *hibakusha* attitudes towards their experience—that of shock, trauma, and repetition as engagement—is the author, poet, and *hibakusha* Tamiki Hara. While his career began before the war, it is his atomic bomb-related writing that is considered his finest work, even to the point that some of his contemporaries thought the fatalism of the atomic bombing was Hara's "destined theme."[44] In 1947, just two years after the bombing, Hara's short story "Natsu no Hana,"

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[43] LaCapra, Dominick. Writing History, Writing Trauma. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001. 80-85, 105, 161, 181-183.

[44] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 126.

or "Summer Flowers," was published despite the censorship of the Occupation. Hara wrote the piece based on notes he made within the first thirty-six hours of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.[45]

> I owe my life to the fact I was in the privy. The morning of August 6 I got out of bed at about eight o'clock. The air raid siren had sounded twice the previous night, but there had been no air raid: so before daybreak I had taken off all my clothes, changed for the first time in a while into sleepwear of *yukata* and shorts, and gone to sleep. When I got out of bed, I had on only the shorts. ... How many seconds later it happened I can't say, but all of a sudden there was a blow to my head and everything went dark. ... Things crashed as in a storm, and it was pitch dark; I didn't know what was going on. ...
>
> ... Surveying the scene from the veranda, I saw an expanse of rubble, the ruins of collapsed houses; except for the reinforced concrete building still standing in the middle distance, there wasn't even anything by which to get my bearings. The large maple next to the earthen wall—now toppled—of the garden had had its trunk snapped about halfway up, and the upper half of the tree had been thrown atop the outdoor washstand. Stooping over the air raid shelter, K. said, irrationally, "Shall we stick it out here? We've got water. . ."[46]

The story is objectively told, with the events recounted in a "journalistic" style conveying nothing but the facts, and largely omitting any evaluation of them, while also avoiding any kind of poetic conflations or conceits despite the fact that Hara was a poet. He did write poetry: from the initial notes he made in the aftermath of ground zero he composed a series of twenty-three haiku poems.[47] John Treat observed in Writing Ground Zero that Hara remained "utterly passive before the experience, so much an object of the bomb's force that he does not wonder about its origins."[48] Hara is simply an observer who wanders the desolation without ever looking up at the sky.

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[45] Minear, Richard H. "Haiku and Hiroshima: Hara Tamiki" The Nightmare Considered: Critical Essays on Nuclear War Literate. Ed. Anisfield, Nancy. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. 124.

[46] Minear, Richard H., ed. Hiroshima: Three Witnesses. Princeton University Press, 1990. 45.

[47] Minear, Richard H. "Haiku and Hiroshima: Hara Tamiki" The Nightmare Considered: Critical Essays on Nuclear War Literate. Ed. Anisfield, Nancy. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. 123.

[48] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 45.

However, it is incorrect to say "Natsu no Hana" is devoid entirely of any sense of poetry. The story remains highly sensory with Hara recording sights, colors, scenic vistas, and smells. The effect of his writing is the same as in haiku poetry in that statements are short, adjectives are conserved, and extraneous descriptors are kept to a bare minimum for maximum impact. Hara uses this haiku-like style throughout the story. Hara also keeps the scope of the damage localized, instead of trying for an all-encompassing bird's eye view of the whole ruin of Hiroshima. The first scene of destruction Hara sees is his own garden with the retaining wall smashed and the maple tree twisted and broken. Leaving his house, he sees that it, too, is destroyed—split asunder—recalling to his mind Edgar Allen Poe's house of Usher. It is precisely because Hara was a poet, having written approximately three hundred haiku in his career,[49] that the language of "Natsu no Hana" is as powerful as it is. If not for the experience of writing poetry, it is doubtful Hara could have written the story as he did, a powerful recounting of the moment when he became a victim of the first use of atomic weaponry in history.

Hara's goal seems to be to record the extraordinary event without any elaboration or fancifulness, giving just cold, hard, indisputable facts through simple images. One reason for his factual presentation may be because Hara wrote "Natsu no Hana" during the Occupation with its heavy atomic censorship. Hara wanted people to know exactly what had happened, and that it did in fact happen at all. Hara defied the censorship to have several of his stories published, among them "Natsu no Hana,"[50] even though it meant he had to seek a publisher willing to risk the censorship. Even though Hara wrote his stories by 1946, it is evidence of the censorship in Japan at that time that John Hersey was able to publish the first atomic bombing narrative, Hiroshima, in the American "New

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[49] Minear, Richard H. "Haiku and Hiroshima: Hara Tamiki" The Nightmare Considered: Critical Essays on Nuclear War Literate. Ed. Anisfield, Nancy. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. 123-126.

[50] Minear, Richard H., ed. Hiroshima: Three Witnesses. Princeton University Press, 1990. 36.

Yorker" magazine that same year while Hara was still searching for a willing publisher.

Hara's focus on the facts became a main tenet of initial atomic bomb literature. It mirrored *hibakusha* experiences as a whole from 1945 to 1952—the same years as the American Occupation—as *hibakusha* designation depended entirely on the facts: distance from the hypocenter, and their radiation level. When censored almost into silence, *hibakusha* authors seemed compelled to record events accurately as a form of proof regarding the reality of their experience. *Hibakusha* authors reclaimed a sense of displaced normalcy and humanity at a time when the ABCC was having *hibakusha* brought to their research centers, with military personnel escorts and jeeps, and their physical conditions objectively examined—their burns, scars, and radiation levels—after which they were dismissed and sent them home.

There is no indication in Hara's writing that anything better can be expected for the *hibakusha*. If Hara was "utterly passive" about the bombing itself, Hara also seems just as passive about *hibakusha* and the position they came to occupy as a group excluded from mainstream Japan. For many *hibakusha*, choosing to continue to survive seems to be one of the hardest initial choices to make after the bombing, simply because they had witnessed first hand the death of so many family members, friends, and neighbors. The question of reintegration from an excluded status is certainly not on Hara's mind, nor the potential of activism or the possibility of any social movements on behalf of those affected. In one of Hara's twenty-three atomic bombing related haiku, he summarizes the *hibakusha* experience:

Summer fields:
Fragments of nightmares
Flash before my eyes.[51]

Hara seems unable to move on from the trauma, frozen in the moment of

[51] Minear, Richard H. "Haiku and Hiroshima: Hara Tamiki" The Nightmare Considered: Critical Essays on Nuclear War Literate. Ed. Anisfield, Nancy. University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. 123-124.

the bombing. In fact, Hara did not survive long after writing this haiku. He chose to commit suicide as a protest in 1951 by throwing himself in front of a train after hearing that nuclear weapons were under consideration for use in the Korean War. The initial challenge of the *hibakusha* was to preserve the facts of their own atomic bombing story, and yet, retain enough distance so as not be consumed by those memories, until they had, like Hara, an opportunity to record their stories and share their messages and warnings regarding atomic weapons and nuclear warfare. As such, *hibakusha* are not purely arguing for personal recognition or to be included, but rather to prevent a reoccurrence of the fate that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Other City

While the city of Hiroshima became the symbol for the atomic bombings and the horrific devastation they are capable of, the city of Nagasaki seemed conspicuously quiet. Hiroshima was the first city to be bombed by an atomic weapon and boasted a larger population at the time of the bombing than Nagasaki, but it nonetheless seems inconsistent that Nagasaki is not mentioned nearly as often as Hiroshima. A closer look at what should be a strong link between the two atomic cities of Japan reveals two very different reactions on each city's part to becoming ground zero and the first victims of the atomic age. These particular reactions are embodied by the two prominent *hibakusha* authors from each city, Tamiki Hara of Hiroshima and Takashi Nagai of Nagasaki. It was Hara's example that prompted *hibakusha* to see themselves as witnesses of the atomic bombing, and similarly it was Nagai who offered the view that the *hibakusha* experience was religiously oriented—in his interpretation of the Nagasaki bombing as Christian sacrifices.[52] Nagai was not the only proponent of a religious view. Shigenobu Kōji of

[52] Nagai, Takashi. The Bells of Nagasaki. 1949. Trans. William Johnson. New York: Kodansha International, 1994. ix-xix, 107.

Hiroshima also conveyed a similar sentiment, though Kōji viewed the *hibakusha* as saintly martyrs for the True Pure Land Buddhist sect.[53]

Takashi Nagai was a scientist and a doctor. Whereas Hara did not "wonder about [the bomb's] origins,"[54] Nagai surmised almost immediately that it had been a radiation bomb that had been dropped on his city. He had not only read leaflets dropped by the Americans in warning, but was also a radiologist and he recognized many of the signs of radioactivity in the injuries and types of damage the bomb caused.[55] As a man of science, the atomic bomb simultaneously fascinated Nagai and shocked him with the hard science of the physics involved in the atomic bomb, as well as the sheer amount of destruction and death it caused.

Nagai was also a Japanese Christian, a group that had been excluded from the mainstream almost since their religion's arrival in 1549 with the monk Francis Xavier, and had been persecuted heavily and violently during the early Tokugawa period in the 1600's. Nagai saw a divine hand at work in the cloud cover over the shipyard of Kokura that led the crew of the "Bock's Car," the B-29 carrying the second atomic bomb, to change their target to Nagasaki, a city that was not even on the priority target list.

> I have heard that the second atomic bomb ... was originally destined for another city. But since the sky over that city was covered with clouds, the American pilots found it impossible to aim at their target. Consequently, they suddenly changed their plans and decided to drop the bomb on Nagasaki, the secondary target. ... As the bomb fell, cloud and wind carried it slightly north of the munitions factories over which it was supposed to explode and it exploded above the cathedral.
>
> ... It was the providence of God that carried the bomb to that destination.
>
> Is there not a profound relationship between the destruction of Nagasaki and the end of the war? Nagasaki, the only holy place in all of Japan—was it

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[53] Miyamoto, Yukio. "Rebirth in the Pure Land or God's Sacrificial Lambs? Religious Interpretations of the Atomic Bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki." Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 32.1 (2005): 131-152.

[54] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 45.

[55] Nagai, Takashi. The Bells of Nagasaki. 1949. Trans. William Johnson. New York: Kodansha International, 1994. 48, 51-52, 82-98.

> not chosen as a victim, a pure lamb, to be slaughtered and burned on the altar of sacrifice to expiate the sins committed by humanity in the Second World War?[56]

The cathedral over which the "Fat Man" atomic bomb exploded was the center of the only sizable Christian community in Japan, and as a result, approximately nine thousand of Nagasaki's total forty to forty-eight thousand estimated initial atomic casualties were Christians.[57] Nagai considered that the atomic bombing was a continuance of the long history persecution of Christians, both for "four hundred years"[58] within Japan itself and in the world at large for two thousand years. For Nagai, the dead were sacrifice on behalf of all humankind, echoing the sense of shared victimhood in that their death was made for all people, though in claiming it as such, he interpreted it as the martyrdom of an already excluded group—the Nagasaki Christians.

In parallel with Tamiki Hara, Nagai did not survive long into the postwar period. Ironically, Nagai had contracted leukemia before the atomic bomb had even fallen due to his work in radiology. He succumbed to radiation complications in the same year as Hara's suicide in 1951. His seminal book on his experience in the atomic bombing, The Bells of Nagasaki, was finished in 1946, but just as Hara had found it difficult to publish his own atomic bomb related stories, it was not until 1949 that The Bells of Nagasaki was finally published. While it resonated strongly in the West, Nagai's Christian sentiment was a distinctly minority opinion in Japan, though it reflected the predominate view among Nagasaki Christians. The Japanese Christian *hibakusha* community was a separate

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[56] Nagai, Takashi. The Bells of Nagasaki. 1949. Trans. William Johnson. New York: Kodansha International, 1994. 107.

[57] Finding consistent statistics for atomic bomb casualties is complicated by the chaos of the days immediately following the bombing when people who had survived the blast succumbed to injuries, the raging fires, and other related causes, so garnering a correct number of those killed instantly is the most difficult statistic. Hiroshima-shi Nagasaki-shi Genbaku Saigaishi Henshū Iinkai. Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings. Trans. Eisei Ishikawa and David L. Swain. New York: Basic Books Editions, 1981. 118, 203, 471, 503-569.

[58] Nagai, Takashi. The Bells of Nagasaki. 1949. Trans. William Johnson. New York: Kodansha International, 1994. 108.

one even among other *hibakusha* due to their religion, as were the ethnically Korean *hibakusha*, who were also separated form the group of Hiroshima survivors due to their ethnic background. Both Christian and Korean *hibakusha* bore an additional level of discrimination beyond that which normal *hibakusha* endured.

Nagai's Christian interpretation of the Nagasaki atomic bombing also separated the experience further from that of Hiroshima, a distinction that has extended to the present due to the perception of the entire nation that Nagasaki had always been a Christian haven, and somehow apart from the rest of the country. However, while the sense of martyrdom prevailed for Nagasaki *hibakusha* in the immediate wake of their victimization, it has not remained that way and perhaps perished with Takashi Nagai.[59]

The Nagasaki author who made a distinct break from Nagai's pronouncement upon the city's experience as martyrdom, and also showed a movement away form the fact-focused methods of Tamiki Hara, was Nagasaki *hibakusha* Kyōko Hayashi. Hayashi started writing two decades after Hara and Nagai, with her first work achieving print in 1967. Atomic bomb related censorship had ended, though the information gathered by the ABCC and all other bomb-related material was still being declassified in small segments. Hayashi espoused poeticism, which since Hara's writing, was considered to be disingenuous to the reality of the atomic experience.[60]

Hayashi's writing began at a point distant from the event, focusing on life in the wake of the bombing instead of the moment of the fires of destruction, presenting a frame story instead of a first hand account in which the moment of the atomic bomb is visited through memory. Hayashi's stories are much more fiction than journalism. Compared to Hara's "Natsu no Hana," the opening segment of Hayashi's story "Futari no Bohyō," or "Two Grave Markers," contains no dates or time marks, and even the exact

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[59] Treat, John W. "Atomic Fiction and Poetry," The Colombia Companion to East Asia Literature. Ed. Mostow, Joshua S. Colombia University Press, 2003. 182-183.

[60] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 127-139.

setting beyond the immediately relevant tree and flowers as scenery is unknown. The story actually begins with a dream scene that, by its non-reality, can be interpreted more symbolically or subjectively than factually.

> Clusters of pale yellow acacia flowers sway in the early summer breeze. The wisteria-like clusters call to mind flocks of butterflies.
>
> Wakako sits in the roots of the trees. Her hair is in braids. By her side is a baby. The baby wears a rose-colored baby dress and her small hands are open; she is dead.
>
> Just like a doll—so sweet, Tsune though.
>
> Ants swarm around her lips, and maggots crawl in and out of her tear ducts.
>
> Her cheeks are still pink, and the baby smiles as if she were tickled. At a gentle touch of the finger tips, some of her skin peels off.
>
> Grease runs from the baby who has started to melt, making just that part of the earth glisten, dark with moisture. The cluster of flowers shine lustrously, absorbing the juice from the baby's flesh.
>
> The wind blows. The baby's fine hair trembles.
>
> Every day the baby melts and returns to the earth, emanating fragrance and nourishing the heavy clusters of acacia blossoms.[61]

Kyōko Hayashi is, however, just as interested as Hara was in being a witness for the experience of the atomic bombing of her city, rejecting at the same time Nagai's view of martyrdom. The schism between Hayashi and Nagai is the simple fact that Nagai traced the bomb back through time to turbulent Christian history in Japan, as well as even further back to the persecution in biblical times, while Hayashi traced the atomic bombing forward, removing it from the past and transforming it into a continuous state that is anything but over, healed, or resolved.[62] To Hayashi the atomic bomb's legacy of pain continues, even across generations. Hara, along with Nagai, was caught up in the instant of the bombing itself, concerned with the trauma of the event that launched the world into the atomic age. They rationalized the suffering to a single event that gave it a kind of purpose and meaning. Hayashi further focused on the continuing suffering

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[61] Selden, Kyoko I., and Mark. "Two Grave Makers." The Atomic Bomb: Voices from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc.,1989. 24.

[62] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 4, 104, 335.

resulting from the atomic bombing in the form of their mysterious and terrible illnesses and their social exclusion. Hayashi asserted that the damage will never be finished, and that those afflicted will never stop hurting, mentally or physically. Literary critic John Treat remarked that there is no "consoling"[63] Hayashi's victimized characters, and only the succor of telling the story and "preserving" her experience in Nagasaki calms the pain.

Hayashi also did not seem interested in reconciling the *hibakusha* to the mainstream of Japan. To have the group subsumed within the larger population seemed likely to normalize or erase an element of the *hibakusha* experience that made it important and unique, however painful. Instead, she seemed in favor of the status quo, the preservation of the *hibakusha* position as separate and excluded, if it meant that the experience would be preserved in its importance for the future.

The Quintessential Non-Hibakusha Hibakusha

Hibakusha were, of course, not the only people writing about the atomic bombing. John Hersey was not a *hibakusha* himself, nor even Japanese, but he pieced together his 1946 novella, Hiroshima, from first hand accounts and interviews with *hibakusha*. In Japan, it was also a non-*hibakusha* writer, Masuji Ibuse, who produced what is largely considered the staple of atomic bomb literature: Black Rain. Ibuse used a similar approach to Hersey, relying on *hibakusha* accounts and journals to recreate the experience of the atomic bombing. He presented the novel, using a frame story structure, in which the bombing is visited via journal entries, focusing the main story on the difficulties of life in 1950, five years after the atomic bombing. It is a time in which the *hibakusha* struggle for survival against their atomic "disease"[64] was made all the more

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[63] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 38, 437.

[64] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha

difficult by their position as stigmatized and excluded from Japanese society at large, a fact that sapped their will to fight their life-threatening radiation ailments.[65] Ibuse's story follows Shigematsu Shizuma, a *hibakusha* from Hiroshima who raises carp and hopes to find a good marriage for his niece, Yasuko.[66] However, Yasuko was caught in the fallout of the atomic bomb that fell as "black rain," even though she was outside of Hiroshima itself. Because of this, she is continually refused as an acceptable marriage partner by the families of the proposed grooms. Shizuma begins compiling his diary to prove Yasuko was not in Hiroshima directly, and therefore could not have been affected by the bomb. However, perhaps due to the stress of it all, Yasuko's radiation "disease" symptoms begin to manifest. She keeps them secret out of shame while Shizuma tries to prove she is healthy, but she is eventually hospitalized as her condition worsens and her health fails dramatically. While Shizuma raises his carp, a symbol that Hiroshima can return to prosperity, he also maintains the hope that a miracle can restore Yasuko to health, "though he knew all the while that it could never come true."[67]

Ibuse looked directly at what life after the bomb was like for the *hibakusha*—a continuation of their initial victimization via the persistence of their atomic illnesses in a society that was still afraid of those unknown illnesses. This tension is captured in a poignant scene where Shizuma and his friend Shōkichi, another *hibakusha,* are fishing at a lake and a passing village woman pauses to comment on their apparent laziness.

> "Well, what do you mean, some people are 'lucky'?" went on the normally mild and gentlemanly Shōkichi. "If you mean *us*, you're barking up the wrong tree. Quite the wrong tree, I can tell you! Come now, woman, let's see if you can't put things more civilly."
>
> The tip of his fishing rod was quivering with indignation.
>
> "Look here," he continued. "We've got radiation sickness, and we're

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International, 2002. 28, 182, 221-226, 264

[65] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 266.

[66] In the novel Black Rain Yasuko is never referred to with a family name.

[67] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 300.

> fishing for roach at the doctor's orders. . . . You think we're 'lucky' to be sick, do you? *I'd* be only too glad to do some work, I can tell you—any amount! But people like us have only to do a bit of hard work and their limbs start to rot on them. This damned disease comes out."
>
> "Well, fancy that now . . .! Of course, you wouldn't be taking *advantage* of being caught in the raid would you?"
>
> "That's enough! ... I suppose you've forgotten how you came to see me when I got back from Hiroshima, have you? Or were they crocodile tears? I remember you blubbering and calling me a 'precious victim' at the time."
>
> "*Did* I now? But that was before the end of the war. Why—everybody said that kind of thing during the war."[68]

While not a first-hand account, Ibuse still echoes Hara's style of giving factual elements in the representation of the ruined landscape of Hiroshima in flashbacks scenes. Ibuse is praised for the "genuineness" of his dialogue and "authentic" detail of his account, even though he was a non-*hibakusha* writing a fictional story. Ibuse is concerned with the same issue Hayashi saw as the most important—the continuance of the pain of the *hibakusha*, and their stigmatized and excluded position as a result. He clearly sided with Hayashi's sentiment that the damage is anything but finite. To this end, Ibuse used this frame story format to acknowledge the distance between the event of the atomic bombing and the time at which the story was written, twenty years apart in 1965, giving credence to the continuing travails facing *hibakusha* in their day to day lives even two decades after the atomic bombing itself.

The most important aspect of Black Rain may be the fact it was deemed "accessible" to an audience that was vastly non-*hibakusha*. Ibuse's most powerful images for many readers remain the journal scenes of the destruction and death caused by the atomic bomb, just as such images had been in Hara and Hayashi's stories. However, Ibuse further contrasted the normalcy of the main character, Shizuma, and his family life in a small rural village with the horror and almost fantastical nature of the actual bombing. He achieved something other than the genre-standard sense of heightened

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[68] Ibuse, Masuji. Black Rain. 1965. Trans. John Bester. New York: Kodansha International, 2002. 28.

disjunction between the ordinary life of people and the extraordinary event of the atomic bombing. Ibuse made the atomic bombing knowable to non-*hibakusha*. John Treat said Ibuse "removed the bombing from the political history in which it is typically inserted,"[69] thereby creating an "authentic" and "politically neutral" account of the atomic bombing.

Japanese comic book (*manga*) artist and *hibakusha* Keiji Nakazawa presented an interesting converse for the "neutrality" of Ibuse's Black Rain in his work. Nakazawa gave an unapologetic condemnation of Japan's wartime conduct and what he saw as the "horror of the Emperor system"[70] in his series *Hadashi no Gen*, or *Barefoot Gen*. Gen's father was a non-conformist who could see Japan's blunder of the Pacific War as leading to ultimate ruin, but because he spoke his mind he was badgered, beaten, and his family made outcasts from their community. Nakazawa also depicted hard-line soldiers and figures in power as all part of a system of oppression. These characters are mean-spirited, selfish people who cheat, swindle, bully, and take from anyone they can for their own gains—even in the wake of the bombing—and justify it on the grounds of a perverse patriotism.[71] Nakazawa also depicted the Americans as cold-hearted and opportunistic, having dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima just to see the effects, and thus equally condemnable in terms of responsibility for the suffering and horror caused by the atomic bomb.[72] When *Hadashi no Gen* was made into an animated series for television, the heavy criticism of the Emperor system was considered too radical and was removed from the script.[73]

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[69] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 268.

[70] Motofumi, Asai. "Barefoot Gen, the Atomic Bomb and I: The Hiroshima Legacy." Japanfocus.org. Trans. Richard H. Miner. 2008. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Nakazawa-Keiji/2638>.

[71] Nakazawa, Keiji. Hadashi no Gen. 1972-3. vol. 1. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004-2009. 28-34, 51-57, 72, 77-83, 94-98, 105-111, 125-134, 170-175, 207-222.

[72] Nakazawa, Keiji. Hadashi no Gen. 1972-3. vol. 1, 2, 4. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004-2009. 1: 205, 206; 2: 4-6; 4: 25-30.

[73] Motofumi, Asai. "Barefoot Gen, the Atomic Bomb and I: The Hiroshima Legacy." Japanfocus.org. Trans. Richard H. Miner. 2008. 12 May 2010 <http://

In sharp contrast, Ibuse did not force the issues of responsibility or culpability for the Pacific War or pronouncements of wrongdoing on the part of the Emperor, even though he included the broadcast of Emperor Hirohito's surrender speech and the characters' reactions to it in Shizuma's journal entry scenes. Ibuse did not blame either the Americans or the Japanese for the bombing. Staying focused on the characters and their struggles while he omitted the charged political issues, Ibuse stayed non-combative, and Black Rain did not polarize its audience between agreement or rejection. As a result, Black Rain is praised as, "The most successful book yet written about the greatest single horror inflicted by one group of men upon another."[74]

Critical comments made in favor of Black Rain also called other works of atomic bomb literature too "strenuously serious."[75] To escape from political assertions and politically charged messages in the genre of atomic bomb literature is difficult. Even simple statements such as "The bomb was dropped," or "The bomb fell," have completely different connotations.[76] To say "it was dropped" implies an agent that brought about the dropping, and an intention, which asserts responsibility for the destruction—responsibility that can be attributed to the Japanese government for provoking and perpetrating the Pacific War or to the "callousness" of the Americans and their decision to use the atomic bomb. Contrarily, saying the bomb "fell" is sometimes considered too passive, containing no implication of an agent that did the dropping and making the atomic bombing no different from a natural disaster.

There is a current of feeling in Japanese society that maintains that any *hibakusha* who speaks out about the amount they were given in compensation or the way in

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www.japanfocus.org/-Nakazawa-Keiji/2638>.

[74] Symons, Julian. 12 May 2010 <http://www.amazon.com/Black-Rain-Japans-Modern-Writers/dp/087011364X>.

[75] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 265.

[76] Asada, Sadao. "The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches." Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. Eds. Hein, Laura, and Selden, Mark. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997. 184-189.

which they were treated is stepping beyond their place and is therefore "radical," and "dissident." John Treat observed that many Japanese conservative literature critics also joined in the praise for the lack of politics in Black Rain.[77] Black Rain seems to have contained something "acceptable" to conservatives within the content or the perceived message in the text itself, and by extension, that it did in actuality contain a political message: a conservative one. Lending credence to this idea, it is should be noted that Ibuse was also a propaganda writer for the Japanese government during World War II. It is entirely possible to trace a propagandistic sentiment in Black Rain where the *hibakusha* are living examples of having to "endure the unendurable," just as Emperor Hirohito urged as the appropriate response to Japan's surrender. Ibuse described the surrender speech's effects as causing tears and a creating sense of solidarity in the face of defeat. There is no outrage or sudden outburst of long-held angst directed at the government. Treat also wrote that these conservative critics used the "merits" of Ibuse's novel to attack the works of other authors as leftists with a political agenda and therefore disingenuous to the experience of the atomic bomb. These critics directly link Hirohito's surrender speech to the perception of the atomic bombings as an injury to the whole of Japan, instead of just to those killed directly and the *hibakusha*. This assertion also assumed an understanding and a stewardship of the bombing itself that is just as authentic as the *hibakusha* claim to the experience, a view that underscores the marginalization the *hibakusha* experienced as the excluded.

Ibuse is controversial in some ways within the genre of atomic bomb literature, primarily since he is not a *hibakusha* himself and yet he produced what is widely regarded to be the quintessential *hibakusha* narrative. He emphasized a similarity between victims and non victims, at the same time that he presents "neutrality." Before Black Rain it can be argued that the modus operandi in atomic bomb literature was to

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[77] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 264-266.

stress dissimilarity between *hibakusha* and ordinary people, pointing out that they had undergone an experience unknowable to non-victims. This attitude that *hibakusha* were somehow apart from the main body of the population undoubtedly complicated their treatment by society. If it is impossible to understand what they went through, why even make the attempt? Ibuse showed, as evidenced by the success of Black Rain, that it was possible to identify with *hibakusha* as he effectively drew his readers into the story and struggle of his characters. Ibuse's "neutral" approach, while effective, was at odds with that of Hayashi and other *hibakusha* who felt that to normalize and render ordinary the experience of the *hibakusha* was analogous to giving in to the desires of those who sought to erase it all together.

Activism or Silence

Just as the *hibakusha* are not a single homogenous group, a single method of expression for their collective set of concerns could not adequately satisfy everyone. There are *hibakusha* who have become introverted because of their experiences to the point they prefer not to or cannot speak about it. Physical, psychological, and medical problems due to their atomic bomb related ailments, ranging from keloid scarring to leukemia and other cancers, afflict many *hibakusha*. For years after the bombing, the lack of information regarding radiation related sicknesses led to a belief that other people could catch atomic bomb "diseases." Some companies refused to hire *hibakusha*, though other reasons were supplied for declining their applications.[78] There was also the fear that if *hibakusha* were to have children they might have unsavory mutations or inherit their

[78] Terkel, Studs. The Good War: An Oral History of World War II. New York: The New Press, 1997. 299. Lifton, Robert Jay. Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima. University of North Carolina Press, 1991. 187-191. Braw, Monika. "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence." Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. Eds. Hein, Laura, and Selden, Mark. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997. 160-162.

parent's atomic bomb illnesses.[79] *Hibakusha* themselves worried about such things. Keiji Nakazawa wrote that he felt anxious upon the birth of his two children, and later on at the birth of his grandchildren.[80] Such "*hibakusha*-phobia" is a prominent theme in works like Ibuse's Black Rain, and Nakazawa's *Hadashi no Gen*. Nakazawa gave the example of a family that shunned their own relative because of his *hibakusha* status and injuries, keeping him out of sight and pretending he no longer existed while waiting for him to die, hiring Gen to take care of him.[81]

By the time the American Occupation ended in 1952 and the possibility for public action to address their issues became possible, the *hibakusha* had already been marginalized and stigmatized for seven years. In 1954 when the Lucky Dragon no. 5 incident generated a wave of public concern for the lingering atomic issues that the first atomic bomb related social movement, Gensuikyō, came to be. While one goal stated for movement was "relief and solidarity for the *hibakusha*,"[82] for Gensuikyō the term *hibakusha* also included those contaminated by fallout in the Bikini Island test, such as the fishermen aboard the Lucky Dragon no. 5, as well as residents of the Marshall Islands, in the count alongside Hiroshima and Nagasaki *hibakusha*. Just as Gensuikyō was politically diverse at its formation with no one group a vast majority, it did not contain a high *hibakusha* membership, if any. Gensuikyō seemed more focused on indirect aid to the *hibakusha*, increasing awareness of the *hibakusha* situations and appeals, championing them rather than explicitly including them.

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[79] Braw, Monika. "Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Voluntary Silence." Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. Eds. Hein, Laura, and Selden, Mark. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997. 161.

[80] Motofumi, Asai. "Barefoot Gen, the Atomic Bomb and I: The Hiroshima Legacy." Japanfocus.org. Trans. Richard H. Miner. 2008. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Nakazawa-Keiji/2638>.

[81] Nakazawa, Keiji. Hadashi no Gen. 1972-3. vol. 3. San Francisco: Last Gasp, 2004-2009.

[82] Gensuikyō. "The Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs." 12 May 2010 <http://www.antiatom.org/GSKY/en/discription_gensuikyo.htm>.

A *hibakusha*-specific movement did form in 1956 called the Japan Confederation of Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Sufferers Organization, or Hidankyō. At their inception they proclaimed that they felt "born again" with the renewed interest in atomic bomb related issues, and that it was time to raise their voices on behalf of those "who have had no voices, who have died continually since the cruel moment of the atomic bomb because of radiation sicknesses"[83] in order to be heard by the world. Keiji Nakazawa said, however, that Hidankyō was splintered internally, and even more importantly, that it couldn't integrate with, or even form a coalition with Gensuikyō, lessening their potential power to create change.[84] This was due to the fact Gensuikyō had become dominated by the political left after getting heavily involved in the 1960 demonstrations against the unilateral ratification of Anpo, the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty, by Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. Both Hidankyō and Gensuikyō lost solidarity and momentum by failing to join together, remaining strangely separate even though they strove for the same ideal: abolition of nuclear weapons.

Across Japan the fervor surrounding atomic and hydrogen weaponry in the 1950's was eventually buried under the 1960 crisis concerning the renewal of the Anpo treaty. Gensuikyō proved unable to reconcile internal political divisions and split, forming an offshoot branch, the Gensuikin, or the Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. Though he was just a reporter at the time, Kenzaburō Ōe was present at the 1963 Ninth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and watched the split occur. The issue was between the JCP and JSP factions within the Gensuikyō, with the JCP arguing that Russia, rather absurdly, should be exempt from any plans of total nuclear weapon bans. In the essays Ōe wrote during his time in Hiroshima, collected

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[83] Translated from paragraph 3 of the Hidankyō "Declaration." 1956. 12 May 2010 <http://www.ne.jp/asahi/hidankyo/nihon/about/about2-01.html>.

[84] Motofumi, Asai. "Barefoot Gen, the Atomic Bomb and I: The Hiroshima Legacy." Japanfocus.org. Trans. Richard H. Miner. 2008. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Nakazawa-Keiji/2638>.

as Hiroshima Notes, he began to see a dire inconsistency in the concern of the political elements in the Gensuikyō who squabbled with one another while the *hibakusha* weakly waved to the crowds and gave small statements and speeches even as they sickened further when out of the public eye.

Once the conference ended, Ōe's writing became more focused on the *hibakusha*. He began reporting about how *hibakusha* retained their "human dignity"[85] to an impressive degree, and helped inform his own sense of this "vital attribute" as he confronted the harder issues in his own life, including having a brain-damaged child.[86]

> I have already written, for example, about the stubborn resistance of an angry old man who attempted suicide to protest the resumption of nuclear testing; of how his suicide attempt failed and his protest was ignored; and of how he finally felt exposed to dishonor. I think that he surely had human dignity, despite his sense of failure. It is dignity like his that captivates my mind. To put it bluntly, he was left with nothing but human dignity. When I think of the old man's failed suicide, his ignored protest, his long time abed in the hospital, and then try to identify what significance such a life had, the answer is clear: the value of his life lay precisely in the human dignity that he achieved in his miserable old age. Reduced to lying in a hospital bed with a big scar on his abdomen, still he could face with dignity all people without keloid scars, that is to say, all people everywhere who had no experience of the atomic bomb.[87]

In his writing, Ōe seemed well aware of the exclusion of the *hibakusha* and the barriers to their dignity that it presented. What he found remarkable was present even in *hibakusha* deaths: "clear rejections of a deceptive nation, and [affirmations] of the surviving people."[88] Ōe also contrasted this "pure" attitude by stating that "mankind in general has a common sense of guilt toward Hiroshima." What Ōe created for the *hibakusha* was not inclusion via freedom from their stigmatization, or even broad

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[85] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 99, 106, 151.

[86] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 12, 95.

[87] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 98-99.

[88] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 153.

normalization, but rather idealization. While atomic bomb writers such as Ibuse focused on the knowable and identifiable elements of the struggles of *hibakusha* in order to generate a familiarity with which any Japanese person could feel a connection, Ōe elevated them by their very exclusion and their transcendence of the challenges brought on by their atomic bomb-related illnesses.

Perhaps in an endeavor to redefine the portrait of the *hibakusha*, Ōe presented a sense of existentialist and humanist sentiment for their situation. However, it may also be questioned how much the existential concept of "freedom" applies to *hibakusha*. Merely being a *hibakusha* created a second unassailable truth in their lives, right alongside the one Jean Paul Sartre says exists for all people, that of the inevitability of death.[89] A third factor in the lives of *hibakusha* was their exclusion from regular Japanese society, which limited their choices in every situation including how they dealt with their own atomic illnesses and eventual death. Ōe is an exemplar of a different side to *hibakusha* activism, representing the desire of non-*hibakusha* to champion the afflicted. In praising them for being human while under such extreme circumstances, however altruistically, there is a disregard on Ōe's part for the wishes of the *hibakusha* as victims to want or require any assistance or attention, in effect objectifying them in their struggles. This was a major criticism of Ōe's work, even from some of his personal friends[90] who contended that Ōe should not have forced those who did not want to speak to do so, especially because he was a non-*hibakusha* who could never fully understand why they might choose to do so. Part of the respect for *hibakusha* should, in the opinion of these *hibakusha*, be to let them keep their silence undisturbed, not even acting as a voice for them. Another contingent among the *hibakusha* community was upset about Ōe's omission of an agent that caused the atomic bombing and ongoing ostracism, an element they felt was conspicuously

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[89] Sartre, John Paul. Being and Nothingness. 1943. London: Routledge Classics, 2003. 88, 123, 224, 388.

[90] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 241-60.

absent in the Notes.[91]

John Treat said Ōe made the "point insistently" that *hibakusha* were just as much on the outside of Japanese society as "Blacks in American, Jews in Europe."[92] However, Ōe moored his humanist sentiment in the belief that Japan collectively owned the experience of the atomic bombing, just as Hirohito had asserted in 1945. Ōe does not make it a universal, world-link. To him, the *hibakusha* and the atomic bombing are indeed a quintessentially Japanese experience, a fact he is grateful for in the same way he finds *hibakusha* dignified—only in the Japanese cultural context can *hibakusha* be free from the contrary notion to dignity: shame and guilt. A Christian, western context would, in Ōe's sentiment, condemn the "dignified" suicides of the *hibakusha*, or prevent them entirely, by inspiring "guilt or fear of hell."[93] He likewise finds "courage" in the "morality" of "Hiroshima people 'who do not kill themselves in spite of their misery.'"[94]

Some *hibakusha* have disagreed with the claim of "Japaneseness" for the atomic bomb experience. These survivors asserted that all people, not just Japanese people, should know what they experienced in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ōe did mention one such person in the Notes, an older Korean *hibakusha* who over time lost her feelings of anger toward the Americans for dropping the bomb, and toward the Japanese government for the war that brought the atomic bombing as a consequence. In place of her anger she found a desire to make sure that the use of atomic weaponry never happened again.

> Now I do not curse America or hate Japan. ... I only want to appeal for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. This I want to do because I am a mother who lost five children; it has nothing to do with whether I am Korean or

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[91] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 241, 364.

[92] Treat, John W. Writing Ground Zero: The Atomic Bomb and Japanese Literature. University of Chicago Press, 1995. 10.

[93] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 84.

[94] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 84.

Japanese.[95]

It may be on humanist terms that the *hibakusha* can find a measure of reintegration to society. Historically, the initial reaction to events of mass violence has been to re-humanize the victims, embracing them, healing them, and assisting them to cope. In the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the *hibakusha* were directly targeted by stigmatization, censorship, and discrimination, which made what should have been a natural process of reintegration into a long overdue and perhaps never fully realizable event.

[95] Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 88-89.

MINAMATA

Exclusion After Year Zero

While Minamata victims' circumstances are admittedly not as dramatic as those of the *hibakusha*, and the number of those affected is far less than those who were killed or irradiated in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, those who were poisoned in Minamata were nonetheless victims of a situation beyond their control, and they were excluded in their own community as well as ignored by the mainstream of Japan society. The stage for the ecological disaster that occurred in the small costal town of Minamata had been set prior to 1945, with victims appearing as early as the 1930's. The situation did not come to a head, however, until the postwar, post-Occupation years.

The source of harm for the people of Minamata was not an intentional one, such as an atomic bomb dropped on their city. Instead, the people in Minamata were poisoned by untreated industrial mercury waste that was pumped by the Chisso Kabushiki Kaisha, or Chisso Chemical Company (known prior to 1965 as Nihon Chisso Hiryō Kabushiki Kaisha, or the Japan Nitrogenous Fertilizer Company, Nichitsu for short), into Minamata Bay where it spread through the water and the fish, killing the marine and plant life in and around the bay. By eating the fish and using contaminated water, the people of the city also became sick. The mercury poisoning accumulated in their nervous systems over time to toxic levels because such poisoning increases in concentrations as it moves up the food chain from fish to humans, eventually leaving the victims shaking, paralyzed, or even brain damaged. It is estimated that the toxic mercury waste released into Minamata Bay may have affected over thirty thousand residents, and as many as two hundred thousand

to two million people along Japan's Shiranui Sea who ingested potentially contaminated fish.[96]

Nichitsu was founded in 1906 and had a long history in Minamata, establishing its main factory there in 1918. Before the Occupation of Japan, Nichitsu had been a *zaibatsu*—a gigantic, government-condoned monopoly. The chemicals it produced had also been important for the Japanese war effort, especially in the field of explosives and munitions. Emperor Hirohito himself made a visit to Minamata to inspect the Nichitsu plant before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Nichitsu's Minamata plant was also significant because, while it was bombed extensively,[97] it was the only one of Nichitsu's facilities to remain largely operational and also in the company's possession after the American Occupation. The Minamata facility became Nichitsu's flagship.

Once a salt-making village, work at Nichitsu's plant filled in for Minamata citizens when the salt industry died down in the Meiji period, eventually becoming one of two main sources of employment with the only other being fishing. Fishing families, and other lower income households who had to subsist off locally caught fish, would be the ones most dramatically effected by the complications that came to be known as "Minamatabyō," or "Minamata disease," as well as by the environmental devastation the poisoning wrought as it killed off the sea life in Minamata Bay itself and withered the shoreline.

With local marine life devastated by the mercury poisoning, the fisher folk began

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[96] Numbers vary just as with the atomic bombings victims as families or afflicted do not step forward, and also because of Chisso Corporation's efforts at confusing the issue with their own medical data. Grimel, Hans. "Minamata Bay Mercury Victims Could Double." Associated Press 2001. 12 May 2010 <http://www.mindfully.org/Pesticide/Minimata-Mercury-Victims.htm>. Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

[97] Forty-nine tons of explosive had hit Nichitsu's facility, meaning the only place bombed in higher volume than the Nichitsu Minamata plant was the Kawasaki plant. George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 31-32.

to suffer, first from the diminishing of their livelihoods, and then from the insidious sickness creeping through their community. At first it was the cats that seemed to be going crazy, "dancing" and yowling without cause,[98] but then human beings also began to manifest symptoms of a similar illness. More and more people began to feel numbness creeping through their bodies and began to suffer headaches. It was not until 1956 that doctors from the nearby city of Kumamoto undertook an analysis of the potential causes of the sicknesses in Minamata after observing multiple cases in a single family. Their research pointed to something in the waste Nichitsu was discharging—specifically methyl mercury used as the catalyst in the production of acetaldehyde. The mercury had been in use since 1932 at the Minamata plant.[99]

The official designation of the sick people of Minamata as sufferers from "Minamata disease" came in 1956, but the exact culprit for the poisoning was not fully identified until 1959: Nichitsu's waste. However, once the shocking news that Nichitsu's discharge was crippling and causing the death of people in Minamata, the first request seeking official compensation from Nichitsu came not from victims explicitly of Minamata disease, but rather from the fishermen who sought reparations for their loss of profit from diminishing fishing catches. A mutual aid society on behalf of the victims of the disease, which included many fishermen and their families, did form, however, and did submit a request for victims' compensation alongside the demands of the fishing industry.

In the face of rising public concern, Nichitsu also undertook studies to determine if their plant or its by-products was indeed the cause. When the results indicated that their waste was indeed poisonous, and had caused the death of wildlife and sickness

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[98] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 3, 148.

[99] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 36. Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

and death in humans, Nichitsu began to act quickly. Taking responsibility posed a myriad of consequences for the company, many of which would, by necessity, lead to a great deal of work on treatment options, the expenditure of large amounts of money for compensation, and a loss of consumer and investor confidence, as well as national prestige. Nichitsu decided the financial loss that taking blame entailed was unacceptable. Nichitsu was one of the flagship companies for the postwar Japanese government's focus on economic expansion as the means to the recovery of the country, an essential part of the new Japanese self-image as a strong, industrial economy. The government itself was therefore unwilling to let the blame fall on Nichitsu. Nichitsu's tactics became to "delay" and "confuse" the issue.[100] The company released misleading information to the media, played opinion against opinion within the community, and contradicted the statements of the Kumamoto doctors by releasing their own report made by an in-house scientific team.

Even with the blame placed on Nichitsu for this ecological disaster, the residents of the Minamata community still largely sided with the company. To many residents of Minamata, Nichitsu was the bulwark of the town's livelihood. These residents accused the fishermen and the Minamata disease victims of attacking the very heart of their own town's prosperity. This communal sentiment of sympathy for Nichitsu, combined with Nichitsu's determination to obfuscate their responsibility for Minamata disease, pushed the victims into exclusion. Nichitsu—much in the same way that SCAP policy solidified the position of the *hibakusha* on the periphery by virtue of censoring or providing no official recognition of their existence—only recognized the claims of the fisherman, and awarded vaguely worded "sympathy payments" to those who also had family members affected by Minamata disease. Nichitsu's denial, and the support of the community for that denial, resulted in the stigmatization of the victims of Nichitsu's poisoning into a group of excluded people. Neighbors were often afraid of Minamata disease victims

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[100] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 117, 136.

for fear of contagion, and when adults with the disease produced seriously deformed offspring, fear of marrying into a stricken family grew. Most of those affected at first were fishermen living in small clusters along the bay, those without any political clout in a community that was tied to a single, major employer, Chisso.[101] With the community divided, Nichitsu was free to make its case on a broader level. The company began to argue that anything that could blacken its name and thus its ability to be successful would have dire repercussions not only for the economy of Minamata, but for the nation as a whole and would be done at the cost of national economic expansion and the policy adopted in year zero to return Japan to a position of prominence via economic growth and industry. Minamata, as well as other major pollution disasters in Japan which occurred in the same time frame,[102] showed that this economic recovery was to be carried out regardless of the costs to human health and life. In the case of Minamata, the cost in lives would only increase over time due to the company's stalling tactics and avoidance of blame. In this conflict, Nichitsu only budged a little, handing out a small amount of monetary compensation to the fishermen's groups while securing a promise from them not to pursue the matter further, even if the case developed and new information came to light. However, the activity of 1959 would not end the issue, for no real resolution was achieved, and no responsibility was taken.

The second phase of the Minamata case began in earnest in 1965. This time, others Japanese began to take interest in Minamata as the dissatisfaction of the fishermen with the initial settlement from Nichitsu increased and new victims afflicted by Minamata disease began to appear, even after Nichitsu's supposed safe guards were put in place. By this time, Nichitsu had changed the company's name to "Chisso," most likely to avoid

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[101] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

[102] Such as Yokkaichi Asthma in 1961, Niigata's Minamata disease in 1965, and Toyama Itai-Itai (Ouch-Ouch) disease in 1968. George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 175.

the connection with Minamata disease and the initial case findings regarding the mercury poisoning.

The small numbers of community members involved in the resurgence of Minamata protests remained the same, but now they were joined by outside participants. Many of the newcomers had experience in other social protests such as those movements involved in the Anpo unrest of 1960. The involvement of other Japanese led to the erosion of the ideas that Minamata was on the periphery and thus less important, and that the fisherman and the Minamata disease victims as group were somehow non-Japanese.

A "Strange Disease"

Just as *hibakusha* authors and other writers gave voice to their unique experiences as victims and excluded, a member of the Minamata community, though not a disease victim herself, Michiko Ishimure, wrote on behalf of the fishermen and the victims of Minamata disease. She explicitly took up their cause from the standpoint of a *kataribe,* or a witness of historical events and speaker on behalf of those who have no voice themselves. This self-titling had a very practical side. Because the bodies of victims of mercury poisoning are crippled and their senses eroded and eventually destroyed, leaving them truly blind and mute, there was a definite need for someone to become the voice of those who could no longer articulate their own situations, experiences, and life stories. She attempted to depict her own community's struggles with the mercury poisoning by documenting the daily lives of those who became increasingly stigmatized as "poisoned people."

> The whole village was in turmoil. Our well, garden and house, even the jars of *miso* and pickled radish, and the pots and pans in the kitchen had to be thoroughly disinfected by order of the Public Health Department.
>
> The panic in the village reminded me of the cholera epidemic many years earlier. Now I could neither buy the things I needed, nor get water from anyone, because everyone feared contamination. When I went to the local store, the store keeper wouldn't take the money, so I ended up putting it on the floor. He must

> have picked it up with chopsticks, and boiled it several times over before putting it away. I will never forget our neighbors refused to give me water. We were ostracized by the whole village.[103]

Ishimure followed Masuji Ibuse's method in writing Black Rain: presenting the fishermen and Minamata disease victims as ordinary, understandable Japanese people, as well as coequal members of the Minamata community itself. Time and point of view are free-flowing for Ishimure. She moves from one family to another in her narrative, showing the non-congenital victims often before and after the disease set in. What she finds in their survival and persistence reflects what Ōe had seen in the *hibakusha*—a quiet courage and "human dignity."[104] Ishimure's characters further reflect those in Ibuse's Black Rain, such as in the fishing scene with Shizuma and his friend Shōkichi; the victims only wishes are that they could even just do a day's work once more, or in other words, as one of one of Ishimure's chapters is titled "I Want to be Human Again."

> "I want to get my own body back, the way it was before. I want to go back to the strong, healthy body with which I came into the world. I've never been sick. I've never had to stay in bed. I was brimming with energy. I could work harder than any man.
>
> "It used to be so lovely out on the sea. I want nothing else, just to be like I was before I got this strange disease. To be able to row a boat, and to land a net. I feel so miserable now, a helpless wretch with a body like a freak."[105]

Ishimure also depicts the congenital patients in the same manner Ōe had with the *hibakusha*, as idealizations, even in their crippled, poisoned states.

> Sister, our Mokutarō is a saint. He never disobeys us. He can't speak, can't use his hands to eat, can't go to the toilet by himself. But he can see, and has

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[103] Ishimure, Michiko. Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease. 1969-1974. Trans. Livet Monnet. University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2003. 34.

[104] Ishimure, Michiko. Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease. 1969-1974. Trans. Livet Monnet. University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2003. 69, 137, 314.

[105] Ishimure, Michiko. Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease. 1969-1974. Trans. Livet Monnet. University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2003. 141.

> unusually sharp hearing. Besides, his soul is deep and mysterious like the ocean. ... He just sits there, smiling like a Buddha statue, and trying hard not to get on our nerves.[106]

To Ishimure, and as evidenced by her book's subtitle, "Our Minamata Disease," the mercury poisoning was a community problem, not just a struggle for the victims themselves and their immediate families. Because of Minamata's extended period of mercury contamination and the fact that the mercury concentrations and even more severe effects are carried on to the second generation, the damages were anything but finite or concluded, despite Nichitsu's declaration that the problem resolved following the 1960 settlement and plant improvements. These facts have certainly contributed to Ishimure's adoption of the role of *kataribe*, speaking on behalf the Minamata victims who have lost the ability to do so for themselves, but also as a living record in the vein of oral traditions.

Another Minamta resident and poisoning victim, Masato Ōgata, chose a similar approach when narrating his memoir, choosing consciously to make it a *kioku*, a direct memory, as opposed to a *kiroku*, a record. He explained the choice: "Once you record an event, both the event and the act of documentation are considered complete and final, a part of the past. But *kioku* is a living process. ... The Minamata incident must never be filed or shelved. It must remain alive in our collective memories."[107]

Beyond the role of *kataribe*, Ishimure was also highly concerned with the factual recording of the first fifteen years of the disease, especially when the blame began to fall on Nichitsu and the facts became much more murky as a result. Ishimure also took an activist approach to raise awareness of those suffering from both the ruination of

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[106] Ishimure, Michiko. Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow: Our Minamata Disease. 1969-1974. Trans. Livet Monnet. University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 2003. 199.

[107] Ogata, Masato and Oiwa, Keibo. Rowing the Eternal Sea: The Story of a Minamata Fisherman. Trans. Karen Colligan-Taylor. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001. 2. Parentheticals omitted.

Minamata Bay's ecology and those who were effected by the mercury poisoning itself, as well as to explicate the vulnerability of the fishermen due to their societal position, for the victims of Minamata disease not only faced bodily stigmatization due to their ailments, but because many were fishermen, they faced a stigma within their community as a result of this periphery, lower-income status. Japan had chosen the image of an agrarian, rice-based farming society as the core of its traditional self-image, ascribing it as a "defining" feature of nearly every group theorized to have settled Japan.[108] It remained an important component of the revised self-image of Japan following 1945. Ogata, too, made mention of the discrepancy between fishers and farmers.

> Traditionally, farmers have felt superior to fishermen and have looked down their noses at them. It was not until after the war, when net fishing for sardines became popular, that the fishing industry blossomed. Until that time, fisherman definitely occupied the bottom rung. For one thing, fishermen were very poor, and their lives unstable.[109]

In several additional layers of discrimination, fisher folk were easily discounted and ignored by Nichitsu because they were not company employees. On a larger scale, the fishermen were also distinctly on the periphery of the government's concerns because they were not part of the LDP's constituent power base in the rural farming communities. In Minamata itself, lower-income fishing families struck by the disease were not only separated from the city at large in their own hamlets, but also in terms of social class.

In the mid 1960's it was not just Minamata's tragedy alone that began to evidence the effects of unrestrained industry. Minamata was also not a unique case of industrial poisoning and pollution. For example, the city of Niigata had its own *Minamatabyō* outbreak in 1965.[110] The company involved was Shōwa Denkō, another member of

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[108] Oguma, Eiji. A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images. 1995. Trans. David Askew. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002. 49, 177, 187, 198-201.

[109] Ogata, Masato and Oiwa, Keibo. Rowing the Eternal Sea: The Story of a Minamata Fisherman. Trans. Karen Colligan-Taylor. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.

[110] The other two tragedies of industrial pollution beyond Minamata and Niigata

a former *zaibatsu* group, which was also using a mercury catalyst in their chemical production process, just as Nichitsu in the Minamata plant.[111] However, the settlement in favor of the victims of the Niigata pollution case came to a favorable conclusion for the victims much more quickly than in Minamata. This may have been because the Shōwa Denkō factory was not part of the community it polluted, unlike Chisso in Minamata, which allowed for more solidarity within the community in support of the victims. It may also have been because Niigata was closer to the nation's population centers geographically on the main island of Honshū, and in terms of public consciousness compared to Minamata, which lay on the periphery far to the west on the island of Kyūshū. Niigata's Minamata disease case was settled in only a few years and recognized far more victims than the earlier settlement of the Minamata case.[112]

Because of Niigata's Minamata disease outbreak, Chisso and the government were forced to once again recognize and deal with the plight of Minamata City. With the need to award compensation finally undeniable, due to the government's official acknowledgement of both the disease and the Chisso plant as the cause of that disease in 1968—a result almost certainly the outcome of the Niigata case—settlements were unavoidable. Chisso had to turn to the government for financial support. Loans were granted, and while the reparations were haggled down to rather meager levels once again, they were at least awarded in exchange for another guarantee that the current settlement would be the end of the matter. Just as with the *hibakusha* and official lists for compensation and recognition, some families affected by Minamata disease did not seek to claim reparations for fear of community reactions. In actuality, the number of

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mercury poisoning include the Toyama cadmium poisoning and Yokkaichi sulfur and nitrogen dioxide air pollutants. McKean, Margaret A. Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan. University of California Press, 1981. 42-49, 59-68.

[111] McKean, Margaret A. Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan. University of California Press, 1981. 50-68, 151.

[112] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 173-183. McKean, Margaret A. Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan. University of California Press, 1981. 50-68.

victims registered is more representative of the number of households that were affected, rather than individuals.[113] This settlement did not spare the head of Chisso and the factory plant manager at the time of the initial outbreak of the disease in 1956 from criminal prosecution later in the 1970's.[114] Chisso's use of the mercury catalyst ceased in 1968.[115] It had been discharged via waste into Minamata Bay for thirty-six years.

Bound by Iron Triangles

Historian Timothy George observed that in the Minamata case the movements for the fishermen and the victims struggled against an "iron triangle" of big business, bureaucracy, and the LDP.[116] This omitted one of the most important factors in the Minamata victims' exclusion: the Minamata community that sided with the polluter Chisso, a factor which loomed larger than the LDP's involvement in the situation.[117]

A similar triangle of factors for the exclusion of atomic bomb victims can be constructed: the lack of information due to censorship about the atomic bombings and related illnesses, the bureaucracy that continued to support that lack of information and apathy, and the community in which the *hibakusha* existed which kept them separate because of general disinterest, stigmatization, and fear. This "iron triangle" gives a more accurate picture of all the factors that there were involved in the Minamata victims case as well. In both the *hibakusha* and Minamata victims' circumstances the true tragedy was

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[113] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 5, 49, 289.

[114] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 266.

[115] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 185-190.

[116] George, Timothy S. Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan. Harvard University Press, 2001. 280-281.

[117] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

that, "the victims—not the disease [or its agent]—were now seen as the threat."[118]

While the persistence of fishermen and victim groups has resulted in gains against the "iron triangle" for compensation, the situation of those afflicted with Minamata disease, along with the need for the recognition of thousands more who were affected, has still to be fully resolved. The government emphasis on large state supported "economy building" projects that came to represent the way to prosperity. The resulting "income-doubling" was only curtailed when enough pollution incidents began to overrun the good intentions, resulting in the 1970 pollution laws, a minor victory in that much of the complaints were "bought off" with monetary compensation and considered as "dealt with." As a result, the tragedy of Minamata, just as it was for the *hibakusha*, was to have the two principle agents who ought to comfort and care for victims—the local community in which they lived, and their national government—turn away and exclude them. It was ironic that Minamata disease victims were accused of detracting from the welfare of their city by seeking damages from Chisso, when Chisso itself was doing harm while contributing to Japanese national "progress" following year zero.[119] The culpability of the state-supported industry in the tragedy cannot be ignored, and it is the continuance of the attempt to solidify responsibility for the disaster that prompts Minamata disease victims to speak out, even over fifty years after the "discovery" of the disease, its source as Chisso's waste, and the initial compensation in 1959.

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[118] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

[119] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

CONCLUSION

Re-examining Democracy

The compassion the *hibakusha* and the mercury poisoned in Minamata should have inspired in their fellow Japanese was often subsumed by national agendas, a lack of information, and a general apathy. It is especially poignant that Japan was engaged in defining its new self-image as a democracy, where ostensibly all the people were included, just at the time this exclusion was occurring. It was more possible at this time than at any other in Japan's history for all its people to find a voice through its new government. Instead, the Japanese government, and indeed Japanese society, seemed content to ignore troubling issues, tacitly condoning historical Revisionism. This disturbing trend has been carried out in the educational system via textbooks that "minimize" the culpability of Japan in incurring the atomic bombings and the responsibility of the Japanese militaristic state for Pacific War, under the guise of promoting "'patriotism' in public schools."[120] As such, while the image of democracy in postwar Japan has been one of "peace" and "economic progress" via the close coupling of government backed capitalist development, these two features have been achieved by exclusion—not only of groups of people, but also of ideas that conflict with this image.

Even in 2010, sixty-five years after the reformation of Japan into a democracy, the exclusion of significant groups continues. This pertains not only to the *hibakusha*

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[120] Ōnishi, Norimitsu. "Japan's textbook case of revisionist history: Okinawans Angry School may Ignore Coersion of Suicides." New York Times, 7 Oct. 2007. 12 May 2010 <http://articles.sfgate.com/2007-10-07/news/17267618_1_japanese-soldiers-mass-suicide-textbooks>.

and Minamata victims, but also to domestic minorities like Burakumin, Ainu, Koreans, Chinese, and even the Okinawans. New groups have been added to the "list" of excluded, including foreign workers in Japan. Companies are reluctant to hire any foreigner except to fill language consultant or teaching positions. In April 2009 Latin American workers, many of whom were Brazilians of Japanese descent, were asked to leave the country with a travel stipend and to "never return" to seek work again in Japan.[121] This came at a time when the Japanese domestic labor pool was considered to be in peril due to the aging of the country's population, many of whom were not only preparing to retire, but were also in need of health professionals to care for them. An LDP "senior lawmaker" justified this paid deportation because of "rising unemployment" and also commented, "I do not think that Japan should ever become a multi ethnic society."[122]

The government (embodied in the LDP) alone is not responsible for the continuation of exclusion, since just as George pointed to an "iron triangle" of factors involved in the Minamata situation, the experiences of the excluded show that there are many sources for their ostracism and lack of recognition. Even among groups that championed the victims as a major goal, it is possible to find traces of an exclusive sentiment. Just as the Hidankyō and the Gensuikyō could neither merge nor form a coalition, it was an artificial distinction that separated and weakened fishermen groups and Minamata disease victims groups who shared the same stance on key issues, and yet could never achieve solidarity. This was compounded by the recognition and even the wording of the compensation handed out in both the *hibakusha* and Minamata victims' cases, which only provided temporary placation, essentially "buying off" victims while the real issues remained unaddressed to the point that a resolution, let alone any

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[121] Tabuchi, Hiroko. "Japan Pays Foreign Workers to Go Home, Forever." New York Times 22 April 2009. 12 May 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/23/business/global/23immigrant.html>.

[122] Tabuchi, Hiroko. "Japan Pays Foreign Workers to Go Home, Forever." New York Times 22 April 2009. 12 May 2010 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/23/business/global/23immigrant.html>.

definitive responsibility, was impossible to find. The harshest aspect to the exclusion of both *hibakusha* and Minamata victims was found at "ground level." While top down recognition and compensation can make a difference in the quality of lives and the care victims receive, it does not overcome the separation that the *hibakusha* and Minamata disease victims found within their own neighborhoods. Exclusion can be seen as a significant failure of government, both at a local and at a national level, to recognize the rights of all of its citizens, and instead to count some as less valuable than others. Just as in all cases of exclusion, there is a "curious and troubling inversion of reality."[123] Those who were victimized were often those who came to be considered the threat or the contaminated, as happened with both the *hibakusha* and the Minamata victims. This was a literal fear of contagion from these groups within their own communities.

To combat the voids of information and the resulting stigmatization of the victims, writers who addressed the situations of the *hibakusha* and Minamata victims have sought to facilitate understanding and compassion. For the *hibakusha* and those who wrote about them, it was important to preserve the individual and collective experiences of the survivors as victims and as excluded. Masuji Ibuse clearly demonstrated that there is substance to an approach that humanized the *hibakusha*, confronting both exclusion and victimization head on, even if it failed to absolutely preserve the *hibakusha* experience as a unique, largely unknowable one to the extent Hayashi might have preferred. Similarly, Michiko Ishimure depicted the victims of Minamata disease as quintessential human, deserving of both compassion and capable of eliciting sympathy.

The issue of preservation of the experiences of the excluded is more important today than ever as the number of those affected in both groups dwindles due to age and the complications of their poisoning. The atomic bomb museums in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the Minamata "data hall," have endeavored to record testimonies

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[123] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996.

of survivors and to collect diaries, statistics, and artifacts related to the bombings and the mercury contamination for their archives. The process is not always conducive to the goal. As communities and nations try to come to terms with traumatic events there is an attempt to memorialize them, often through what is essentially an erroneous representation of the victims' stories due to incomplete information or to the fact that no responsibility to, or meaning for, the suffering of the victims is ever provided. Victims sometimes regard these memorials as another manifestation of their "voicelessness," even seeing them as a co-opting of their experience by other groups that do not necessarily have their best interests in mind. This is evidenced in both the Minamata Disease Data Hall's "official" selection of materials and photographs to exhibit and Hiroshima's politically oriented "commemorations" and the response of some victims towards them.[124]

Even abroad, preservation is an issue. In America, the attitude has remained that the use of the atomic bombs was justified, and just as there was censorship in Japan, there has also been an almost self-imposed censorship in America especially in regards to the victims of those bombs. Even in 2010, sixty-five years after the bombing, documents and pictures are still being declassified. America also confronts issues of pollution and industrial poisoning in its own shores, and as Japan's chief ally and among its closest business partners, the experience of Minamata is not dissimilar from its own pollution cases such as Love Canal.

This relationship between Japan and America is especially poignant given the fact America has its own population of atomic fallout victims, known as the "downwinders" or, as naturalist and downwinder Terry Tempest Williams explained, "people, individuals, communities that were downwind of the nuclear test site."[125] Williams also asserted that

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[124] Maruyama, Sadami. "Responses on Minamata Disease." The Long Road to Recovery: Community Responses to Industrial Disaster. Ed. Mitchell, James K. New York: The United Nations University Press, 1996. Ōe, Kenzaburō. Hiroshima Notes. 1965. Trans. David L. Swain and Toshi Yonezawa. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995. 32-45.

[125] London, Scott. "The Politics of Place: An Interview with Terry Tempest Williams." Insight and Outlook 2006. 18 May 2010 <http://www.scottlondon.com/inter-

the disproportionately large number of people within the downwinder community that have cancers and other radiation related diseases are "the result of nuclear fallout. … There are thousands of stories and narratives in the nuclear west that also bear this out."[126] The downwinders could be termed the *American hibakusha*, who, while not intentionally irradiated by the use of atomic weapons directly upon them, were nonetheless affected by atomic weapons due to the lack of understanding of nuclear fallout and its collateral effects. While they were never stigmatized or excluded as the Japanese *hibakusha* were, the downwinders were forced to struggle for recognition from their own democratic government. Williams wrote of the first success in the recognition of the downwinder claims for compensation from a federal court, which took place in 1984, thirty years after many of the plaintiffs were initially irradiated: "It was the first time a federal court had determined that nuclear tests had been the cause of cancers." It was an incomplete victory in that only ten of the twenty-four test cases were ruled to have provided sufficient "proof of causation."[127] Three years later the settlement was overturned: "To our court system, it does not matter whether the United States government was irresponsible, whether it lied to its citizens, or even that citizens died from the fallout of nuclear testing. What matters is that our government is immune: 'The King can do no wrong.'"[128]

Beyond the reticence to acknowledge and compensate its own domestic *hibakusha*, America has also harbored a degree of self-censorship regarding the attitude and reasons for having carried out the atomic bombings on Japan, as the debacle of the 1994 proposed Smithsonian exhibit of the "Enola Gay" B-29 bomber that dropped the "Little Boy" atomic bomb on Hiroshima demonstrated. Amid the argument over

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views/williams.html>.

[126] London, Scott. "The Politics of Place: An Interview with Terry Tempest Williams." Insight and Outlook 2006. 18 May 2010 <http://www.scottlondon.com/interviews/williams.html>.

[127] Williams, Terry Tempest. Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place. Pantheon Books, 1991. 285.

[128] Williams, Terry Tempest. Refuge: An Unnatural History of Family and Place. Pantheon Books, 1991. 285.

perceived "revisionism" in the exhibit script's "failure" to sufficiently portray the Japanese as "aggressors" in the Pacific War, there was a distinct odor of censorship in regards to the presentation of the victims of the atomic bombs which America had dropped, resulting in the removal of more and more pictures of the victims, destruction, and suffering caused by the atomic bombings to make things more "balanced" instead of "skewed in Japan's favor."[129]

The struggle of the *hibakusha* for recognition goes beyond simply seeking reintegration into the mainstream, however, and the same is equally true for the victims of Minamata disease. Indeed, it is doubtful reintegration would "solve" the issues faced by the "poisoned people," or fully redress the harm done to them by the radiation or mercury debilitating their bodies, their exclusion by society, and their continuing personal health problems. Historical revisionism and selective remembrance are set squarely against their experience.

In relation to the atomic bombs, *yuiitsu no hibakukoku* continues to be a major Japanese claim to credibility on the world stage on important global issues, and it has even recently been used as an argument for Japanese nuclear armament in order to prevent becoming a nuclear target again.[130] America has its own version of the *yuiitsu no hibakukoku* idea, only from a reversed perspective, as the "only nuclear power to

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[129] Correl, John T. "Revisionism Gone Wrong." Air Force Magazine 87.4 (20 April 2004). 12 May 2010 <http://www.airforce-magazine.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2004/April%202004/0404revision.aspx>. Yui, Daizaburō. "Between Peal Harbor and Hiroshima/Nagasaki: Nationalism and memory in Japan and the United States." Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. Eds. Hein, Laura, and Selden, Mark. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997. 50-73. Asada, Sadao. "The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches." Living with the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age. Eds. Hein, Laura, and Selden, Mark. New York: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1997. 173-198.

[130] Toshio Tamogami, former Japan Air-Defense Force chief, spoke in Hiroshima on August 6, 2009. Kingston, Jeff. "Under a Cloud: Lessons and Legacies of the Atomic Bombing." Japan Times 9 Aug. 2009. 18 May 2010 <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/fl20090809x1.html>.

have used a nuclear weapon."[131] In continuing to speak out, even from a state of near "voicelessness," *hibakusha* preserve not only their experience, but speak profoundly to the arguments against nuclear weapons and their use within a world of nuclear proliferation. *Hibakusha* expressions of their excluded experience not only assert that adequate compensation and social equality have yet to be achieved, but further that there is a larger matter at stake that concerns all people in all nations: the threat of annihilation by nuclear weapons. It may well be that the main goal of many *hibakusha* has, over time, become recognition, for which integration and overcoming their enduring stigmatization is only a benchmark. Recognition of *hibakusha* would mean by extension that the looming threat of nuclear weapons would actually be engaged by the public at large, not just in Japan, but also in America and in other countries with nuclear armaments. To internalize the atomic bombings would prompt a reexamination of the factors that led to the bombings, a situation that may require an admission of guilt on the part of the Japanese government for not having ended the war sooner, or for having provoked it in the first place via "imperial" expansion in Asia. To achieve this recognition would mean that the stewardship of the anti-nuclear experience of the *hibakusha* would become a communally held value, not just a peripheral discussion point in the myriad of issues regarding "national security."

Minamata victims have continually sought to bring suits for further compensation against Chisso. After a substantial bit of progress in 1973 court ruling that found Chisso guilty of negligence, the truer victory did not ring out until 1979 that the Japanese Supreme court found "top Chisso executives guilty of negligent homicide."[132] Otherwise,

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[131] American President Barak Obama made this speech during a visit to Prague on April 5, 2009. Kingston, Jeff. "Under a Cloud: Lessons and Legacies of the Atomic Bombing." Japan Times 9 Aug. 2009. 18 May 2010 <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/fl20090809x1.html>.

[132] Johnston, Eric. "Minamata at 50: The tragedy deepens." The Asian-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus 2006. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Eric-Johnston/1994>.

many suits often receive court verdicts that simultaneously acknowledge scant numbers of new cases for compensation and grant ever lower sums for that aid, all the while often revising the definition of who is able to file for such money in future cases. To fully acknowledge Minamata would take a full, sincere admission of fault on the part of the Japanese model that propelled the country, in phoenix-like form, into the prosperity of the 1970's and 1980's—the focus on economy and big business—to even begin to fully rectify the situation of Minamata victims, presenting a direct challenge to the direction and progress of the rapid growth period following year zero. There would have to be a societal reckoning of the cost in human life, and perhaps an evaluation regarding the government's ability to have prevented or responded to the tragedy more quickly.

Eric Johnston points out an interesting intersection of both groups of poisoned people, resulting from the struggles of fighting for Minamata recognition and compensation.

> If there has been any good news to the tragedy of Minamata, it is that the struggles of the victims gave rise to an aggressive, nationwide citizens' environmental movement in the 1960's and early 1970's that led to some much needed environmental laws -- indeed, to the creation of the Environmental Agency itself. And the momentum from that time continues. Many of today's activists trying to halt the country's nuclear power industry or warning about the dangers of asbestos are veterans of, or have a great interest in, the battles fought by the Minamata victims.[133]

Beginning in September 2009, a new political party came to power in the Japanese government—the DPJ, or Democratic Party Japan—which broke the virtually fifty-five year-long rule of the conservative LDP. With this change, the situation of the excluded in Japan has under gone a new evaluation. The case for compensation on behalf of those poisoned by mercury in Minamata was been given a new, more inclusive settlement. Over two thousand previously unrecognized victims of industrial poisoning

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[133] Johnston, Eric. "Minamata at 50: The tragedy deepens." The Asian-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus 2006. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Eric-Johnston/1994>.

were granted compensation by the government, nearly matching in a single action the total number of those compensated after both the 1959 and 1965 cases. A change in the required mercury parts per million count to qualify as affected by mercury poisoning also opened the door for potentially over thirty thousand previously unrecognized people affected by "Minamata disease symptoms" to apply for compensation.[134] One of the most heavily excluded groups within the *hibakusha*, the Korean *hibakusha*, were not only the least compensated group of *hibakusha* but were also severed from compensation entirely by living outside the country after the 1965 normalization of relations with Korea,[135] but have now received some attention from the DPJ administration in March 2010 with the lifting of the requirement that they visit Japan in person to apply for *hibakusha* medical aid.[136]

If the experiences of the excluded demonstrate one thing, it is that Japan's democracy, from the government itself to the citizenry of the general public, has retained blind spots that were formed in the past. Japan's democracy is not so much incomplete in its processes as it is selectively oblivious to the needs of certain segments of its population. This feature is not, of course, unique to Japan, as an examination of American's own democracy reveals, especially during the same time period of 1945 to 1975. The anti-Vietnam War demonstrations are not unlike the Japanese Anpo protests, and the myriad of activity within the growing Civil Rights movements attest to a very similar legacy of exclusion felt by some American citizens.

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[134] Asahi Shinbun. "Editorial: Minamata Disease Deal." Asahi Shinbun 31 March 2010. 12 May 2010 <http://www.asahi.com/english/TKY201003310400.html>. Times of India. "Japan Pays 2000 Victims of Minamata Mercury Poisoning." Times of India 31 March 2010. 12 May 2010 <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/environment/pollution/Japan-pays-2000-victims-of-Minamata-mercury-poisoning/articleshow/5739261.cms>.

[135] Weiner, Michael. Japan's Minorities: the Illusion of Homogeneity. New York: Routledge, 1997. 93-102

[136] Associated Press. "Overseas hibakusha would no longer need to visit Japan for relief." AP 12 March 2010. 12 May 2010 <http://www.breitbart.com/article.php?id=D9ECTFR82&show_article=1>.

American, too, has a role to play in the recognition of the excluded, poisoned peoples of Japan. American President Barack Obama wrote about being "strongly affected" by the pictures of Minamata disease victims he had seen in Life magazine in 1972.[137] He has since worked in the Senate, and as President, for a worldwide ban on industrial mercury usage. Involvement of the United States and its President in the Minamata issue would raise awareness of the tragedy to a level where Japan could no longer afford to ignore the breadth of the damage.

America could also influence the situation of the *hibakusha* for the better by agreeing to the request of many *hibakusha* over the years, voiced in a 2009 letter from a *hibakusha* in Okinawa, Miki Tsukushita, for "free access to information on the effects of radiation on A-bomb survivors that the U.S. still holds and refuses to disclose."[138] This one simple act, far removed from admitting guilt for the atomic bombings, would combat the void of information that has led to continuing fear and ostracism regarding *hibakusha*.

Tsukushita's letter further stated:

> A repetition of a rhetorical and eloquent emphasis on human rights and human dignity alone will not bring about meaningful change to those whose lives have been irreparably altered. … At the same time, we Japanese also need to respect the human rights and human dignity … As Obama said, 'the final area in which we must work together is in upholding the fundamental rights and dignity of all human beings.' This applies to us all, regardless of nationality.[139]

Harkening to and building upon Kenzaburō Ōe's sentiment regarding the *hibakusha*—to acknowledge the "human dignity" of all the excluded—from *hibakusha* and Minamata victims to Ainu and foreigners living and working in Japan, and to attend

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[137] Johnston, Eric "Minamata victim seeks meeting with Obama." The Japan Times Online 12 Nov. 2009. 12 May 2010. <http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20091112f3.html>.

[138] Tanaka, Yuki. "A Letter to the Citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki From a Hibakusha Residing in Okinawa." Asia-Pacific Journal 2009. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tsukishita-Miki/3257>.

[139] Tanaka, Yuki. "A Letter to the Citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki From a Hibakusha Residing in Okinawa." Asia-Pacific Journal 2009. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tsukishita-Miki/3257>.

to "the equal administration of justice"[140] on their behalf governmentally and in their immediate communities as well, may prove to be the key to reclaiming the experiences of the excluded—not just in Japan, but across the world. Without embracing these tragic experiences as part of the fabric of their nations, no democracies can be complete. *Hibakusha* and Minamata victims demonstrate that there is an ability within any society for the continual creation of new groups of the excluded, or groups of people who do not enjoy the full benefits of democratic society. The ultimate message the voices of the *hibakusha* and the Minamata victims may offer is that nations must evolve to embrace a true, borderless humanism. Indeed it seems that both Japan and the United States have a moral obligation to heed these voices and take leadership roles globally in championing the excluded, a role that admittedly will not be an easy one to adopt when other internal voices continue to call for national security and defense against real and perceived nuclear terrorism, and for economic progress to ensure prosperity, even when it is carried out at the expense of the environment and human life.

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[140] Tanaka, Yuki. "A Letter to the Citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki From a Hibakusha Residing in Okinawa." Asia-Pacific Journal 2009. 12 May 2010 <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Tsukishita-Miki/3257>.

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